

LANIER, James F.D.

DRAWER 10C

CONTEMPORARIES

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Abraham Lincoln's Contemporaries

James Lanier

Excerpts from newspapers and other
sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

New York August 2 1851

\$ 160,000

Thirty days after notice in writing from
Winstow Lanier & Co the State of Indiana will come
to the order of James M. Van President of the Loan
Commissioners of the State of Indiana One hundred
and sixty thousand dollars at the office of Winstow
Lanier & Co in this city for value received with
interest at the rate of seven per cent per annum

~~O. P. Morton~~
~~Gov. of Indiana~~
~~Alfred S. Elletts~~
~~Att. Gen. of State~~
~~J. S. Harvey~~
~~Treas. of State~~

I guarantee the delivery to Messrs. Winstow Lanier & Co
of New York \$160,000 in and for which I have been bound as collateral
Guthrie & Co. in thirty days from the 1st inst. Aug 2 1851
~~James M. Van~~

New York August 16 1861

\$160,000.

Thirty days after notice in writing from
Messrs. Hinslow, Lamier & Co. the State of Indiana
will pay to the order of James M. Ray, Pres^t. of the
Loan Commissioners of the State of Indiana, One
Hundred and Sixty Thousand Dollars at the
office of Hinslow, Lamier & Co. in this City for
value received, with interest at the rate of
seven per cent per annum.

~~E. L. Hoxley~~
~~Gov^r of Indiana~~
~~Attest~~
~~Secy of State~~

I guarantee the delivery of \$160,000 of Indiana
six per cent Bonds to Messrs. Hinslow, Lamier & Co. as a condition
to the above loan within 30 days from the 16th
of August 1861

~~James M. Ray~~
~~Pres^t~~

New York September 5 1861.

\$ 100,000.

Thirty days after notice in writing from
Winslow Larnier & Co the State of Indiana will pay
to the order of James M. May, President of the Loan
Commissioners of the State of Indiana One hundred
thousand Dollars at the office of Winslow Larnier & Co.
in the City of New York for value received with interest
at the rate of seven per cent per annum.

~~Q. P. Morton~~
~~Gov of Ind.~~
~~Albert Tappan~~
~~Auditor of State~~
~~J. Warner~~
~~Treasurer of State.~~

I guarantee the delivery to Messrs. Winslow Larnier
& Co. at New York of \$100,000 in six per cent Loan
Bonds as collateral for the above notes, in thirty days from
the 5th of September 1861.

~~Samuel M. May~~
~~Pres. Loan Commission.~~

Baltimore Nov 13th '61

Hon Robert Dale Owen
Dear Sir

I have just
received a free pass from
Genl Dix to & from Fort
Monroe, he says it will be
impossible for me to get
any supplies here, I go to
Fort Monroe this afternoon.

Yours truly
Chas Linn

P.S. The Genl thinks the boys
are in a bad condition,
Ch.

Banking Office of
Winston Sanier & Co.
52 Wall Street.
New York Nov 18th 1861

Gov. O. P. Morton

Dear Sir

On my arrival
at Fort Monroe I found the
boys had been well provided
with every thing except guns,
they arrived Sunday morning
Sunday afternoon they had
their tents (new ones) with good
stones, blankets over coats &c,
Cal Brown was much
pleased at your sending
some one to look after the
comfort of his men, they

MCC

[11-18-1861]

are a fine body of men
saber and well behaved
and good and are
speak in the highest terms
of them, Your despatch
to day - to send them 750
rifle Rifles will be
received with joy among
them, I have written
Col Brown that you
have ordered them sent,

Mr Owen will write you,
and send a copy of a letter
from Col Brown - to me,

Remain

Yours Respectfully
Charles Sumner

New York November 21st 1861

Genl. R. A. Custer

Dear Sir

At your request I left New York on Tuesday evening Nov 12th for Fortress Monroe to look after the comfort of the 20th Indiana Regiment, Col. Brown commanding.

I arrived at Baltimore Wednesday morning and called upon Major General Dix and explained to him my errand, asking for a pass, to enable me to leave the boat at Fortress Monroe, which was immediately granted.

Wednesday evening I left by boat for Fortress Monroe, arriving there Thursday noon where I was marched together with the other passengers to the Provost Marshall's office where I was asked if I had any objection to taking the oath of allegiance, to which, I of course, replied in the negative.

I was then conducted to the Hotel where I eat a poor dinner, after which I endeavored to find some conveyance to take me to Camp Hamilton which is one and a half miles from the Fort, but was unable to find anything in the shape of wagon or horse, I should not have expected to walk, had not a heavy rain set in which

made the roads too bad for a pedestrian

I succeeded the next morning in finding a seat in an U. S. lumber wagon in which I was driven up to the Colonel's tent. I presented my letter to Col. Brown who was much pleased at the promptness of Gen. Morton in his care for the comfort of his men.

The Colonel informed me, that the regiment had been supplied with everything in the way of tents blankets underclothing &c. but that they still were but poorly supplied with guns. Having some few Springfield going only, and requested me to telegraph to the Governor for 700 more pieces, better than the altered muskets with which some of them were supplied.

I was introduced to many of the officers of the Regiment whom I found agreeable and intelligent gentlemen. I took an excellent dinner with the Colonel after which he had a review of the men under his command - a fine hearty set of fellows.

Before leaving Genl. Brown, he addressed me a letter, which I handed to you, in which he set forth all his views.

Col. Brown was kind enough to send me to the boat at his house.

I left the City Friday

afternoon on the steamer for Baltimore, which place
I reached next morning (Saturday) not too late for
the New York train, taking the afternoon train for
Philadelphia where I was obliged to lay over until
Sunday, I reached home Sunday evening after a very
pleasant trip of six days.

I am with respect
very truly, yours.
Chas. J. Smith

102
1863

Sept.

Winlow,
Kansas. He greatly praises the credit of the State
Government if these were given in the future, that
of West. You would have the interest, and then
you would say in such cases where
the evidence is satisfactory that the
parties are entitled to receive it, taking
assignment and power of attorney. It
is thought by some "of your friends" that
also, that a considerable portion can
be paid in that way, and that it would
be well for the State and ourselves to
make the offer done by the capital
- have, have we already, stating that
years ago was a debt fund as
arrangement knowing that it would be
rejected. You will excuse my sug-
gestions.

O. P. Norton

1863

Received

103

Winlow, Kansas. He greatly praises the credit of the State
Government if these were given in the future, that
of West. You would have the interest, and then
you would say in such cases where
the evidence is satisfactory that the
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rejected. You will excuse my sug-
gestions.

101
1863

Faint

105

Received

1863

Just arrived with boat, all right
will coal here and not leave before
sometime to-morrow

O. Stone

Genl Mansfield Genl Middle, brigade can march
Bloomington through Greene and Sullivan without
fear of bloodshed, and receive order
Genl Mansfield

Winton

The account in the Cincinnati
Commercial of today is not correct
and shall be corrected to-morrow, so
as to show who advanced the
money. See account in Journal
of today. Any thing new in the
matter

O. D. Martin

Winton
Lancaster
N. York
June 2

112/863

Dear

Christian Do Walker paying out for interest
Kramer to the but once left in his hands, by
New York Newman Answer at once of you
July 2 please M 2 2

D. S. Martin

1869

Delivered

119

W. H. L. M. J. Not representative of living art, no
Mozart - perfect and sublime this morning?
Rec'd. - Comparison will be published this

couple's perception of your conduct. Davis explained it fully, and they understood it. Their pet in the presence of heria. This case on freely and Raymond this afternoon or to-morrow. I asking known about the two animals concerned.

200000, here

Ch. H. Conway

Chinlon	He have not heard that he has
Ranier to	paid any duty, interest
chevalat	
July 3	Chinlon Ranier to

<p>218 1863</p>	<p>Sept</p>	<p>A. P. Hallaway Washington Dec 3</p>	<p>I can no longer because I could not remain longer. When the getting guns are received will raise the battery and put in the field. O. P. Norton</p>
<p>W. W. Thompson New Orleans Dec 8.</p>		<p>I will see that you are paid as Commandant. Go on with the work. O. P. Norton</p>	
<p>Misses Davis New York City Dec. 14</p>		<p>Please send me certificates of deposits for the draft forwarded to you on the 20 instant in amount of about \$10,000 each. The official list of stocks transferred since 1st of July will be forwarded to you to night. When will the notice be given of the payment of interest.</p>	<p>O. P. Norton</p>

<p>219 1863</p>	<p>Received</p>	<p>Dispatch at hand. Will comply with your request in receipt of letter. Will give notice to pay on receipt of transfer. Winston Lane & Co.</p>
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DAILY JOURNAL.

MONDAY MORNING, JUNE 23, 1863.

The Union War Democracy.

The Central Committee of the Union War Democrats of this State have issued an address, which will be found on our first and second pages. We commend it to the careful consideration of the Democratic voters of the State.

The loyal Democrats announce a Mass Meeting, to be held in this city on Thursday, the 13th day of August next. Among the speakers are John Van Buren, Governor D. B. Dickinson and James T. Brady, of New York; General Butler, of Massachusetts; General Lewis Cass, of Michigan; Generals McClelland and Logan, of Illinois; Senator Rice, of Minnesota; Hon. James Guthrie, of Kentucky; Hon. John Brough, of Ohio, and others.

Interest on the State Debt.

The old and able house of Winslow, Lanier & Co., of New York, by an arrangement with the Governor, have placed the sum of one hundred and sixty thousand dollars to the credit of the State on their books, and have authorized the Agent of State to check upon it for the dividends due to each stockholder for interest on the State debt, to fall due on the 1st of July. This they have done without any agreement as to interest or compensation, and trusting entirely to the good faith of the State, and will meet the interest to fall due in January and July, 1864, if the dead lock on the Treasury is not removed before that time. For this prompt action to save the credit of the State they are entitled to the hearty thanks of the people. How well their conduct compares with that of the knavish politicians who have been doing all in their power to bring the disgrace of repudiation upon the State.

The Sentinel has done a large amount of gratuitous and dirty lying about the cause of the Governor's absence from the city, and will have the satisfaction of being heartily despised by an appreciating community. While the Governor has been laboring to avert from the State the disgrace that others are seeking to fasten upon her, he has been assailed by falsehood and malignant abuse, and every means used to defeat him in his purpose.

The money is in New York to pay the interest in the usual way, subject to the check of the State Agent in the ordinary form in which it has always been paid; and, if it is not paid, the responsibility will rest with him and the foul conspirators with whom he is associated.

Letter from the Army of the Potomac.

ALBIE, June 23, 1863.

EDITOR JOURNAL:—Pleasanton's cavalry has won new laurels, additional lustre attaches to our name, and we are far removed from that

rebels will be disposed to see

The disposal of little difference ago, while the considerable force should be at way of Leesburg, at an hour formidable for

The weather all our operations mountains between heat and

Fairfax State the many fine luxurious grass

London court for the Union found here, an appropriate

John Hood, Court of Election has stood he is the only this vicinity army, and with such a thing

Another March Foster—His

All the late there are on region. The ing of Foster's gades, with General Corcoran on the 12th after marching between Suffolk forces drove Blackwater, Zuni road, of the Black we met a body in fortified the Blackwater of the 11th New York, a considerable

Several were The loss of water was means of cre with small reply by a reasonable has been no some other was more days. The and the road moved on, gouged the immense spaces were sun- at Indiana and any other This was pr regiment has seen more of this experience The prom

DAILY JOURNAL

THURSDAY, MORNING, JULY 2, 1893

The Responsibility Settled

We have heretofore announced that Governor Morton visited New York city for the purpose of devising some means by which the July installment of interest on our funded debt might be paid, and the State of Indiana saved from being charged with repudiating its honest debts. The well known bankers, Messrs Winslow, Lanier & Co., with a liberality deserving of universal commendation, came forward and agreed to advance the means—over \$150,000, to pay the interest.

They then addressed the following note to John C. Walker, Agent of State:

BANKERS OFFICE OF WINSLOW, LANIER & CO.,
62 WALL STREET,
NEW YORK, JUNE 24, 1893.

JOHN C. WALKER, ESQ., Agent of the State of Indiana, New York.

DEAR SIR:—Being now quite certain that the next July interest on the funded debt of the State of Indiana will not be paid for reasons publicly known, we have, at the earnest solicitation of Governor Morton and other citizens of that State, agreed to pay the same to the holders of the certificates of indebtedness to protect the credit of the State. To do this safely to ourselves, we must take an assignment from each creditor of the amount of interest due, with power of attorney to collect the same when you are placed in funds to pay the same. To enable us to do this satisfactorily, we must have a certified copy of your pay roll for July, or list giving the names of the holders, as also the amount of dividend due to each, &c.

We therefore respectfully request that you furnish us with the same at as early a day prior to the day of payment as your convenience will allow. We shall expect to pay you all expenses that may be incurred in and about furnishing the same.

We shall be pleased to hear from you as soon as convenient. Yours truly,

WINSLOW, LANIER & CO.

To this letter, on the next day, Walker returned a flat refusal, accompanied by a very vulgar and malicious attack on Governor Morton. At the instance of the Governor, Messrs Winslow, Lanier & Co., then made a second proposition to Walker, as follows:

BANKERS OFFICE,
WINSLOW, LANIER & CO.,
62 WALL STREET, NEW YORK, JUNE 26, 1893.

JOHN C. WALKER, Agent of the State of Indiana.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of yesterday, in reply to ours of the 24th, is received.

We have nothing to say in reply, save to express our regret that the State should fail in paying the interest on her funded debt. As to who the fault lies in the premises, it is not for us to say.

It has occurred to us, however, that we could shape our request in a manner that may merit your approbation. It is this: That you shall, in your capacity of the agent of the State, go on and pay each creditor entitled thereto, on your dividend books, taking the receipt of each in the usual form; you to draw your official check on our house to the order of each party entitled thereto, expressing on the face of each check that it is given for the July dividend on stock that had or represented, giving the amount of such stock. These checks we will pay and hold the same as our vouchers until we are reimbursed.

In this way the payment can be made in the usual manner, as the agent has always heretofore paid, by drawing his check on our house or some other house or bank in this city. As it is necessary for us to know whether or not we are to advance so large a sum of money by Wednesday next, we will thank you for an early reply.

Yours truly,

WINSLOW, LANIER & CO.

To this note Walker returned a direct refusal. The correspondence speaks for itself. The money is in New York to pay the interest in the usual way, and if it is not paid, the responsibility thereof rests alone with the repudiator's tool, John C. Walker, and his abettors and abettors in Indiana. The old saying "that you can lead a jackass to water but you can't make him drink," was never more true than in this case.

DAILY JOURNAL.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 6, 1913.

OFFICIAL CITY PAPER.

Interest Question Again.

A new dodge has been made by some of the leading repudiators here. They allege that Walker, the repudiating Agent of State, cannot accept the offer made by Winslow, Lanier & Co., to furnish the funds required to pay the July interest on our funded debt, because the transaction is "outside of the law," and hence Walker would be "personally liable on his official bond."

We beg to assure these tender-footed gentlemen, that on the day after Walker sent in his ultimatum, declining the propositions of Winslow, Lanier & Co., that firm, at the instance of Governor Horton, addressed to the repudiating Agent the following note, offering to relieve him from all personal responsibility in the matter:

Banking Office of Winslow, Lanier & Co.,
No 59 Wall-street, New York, June 27, 1913.

John C. Walker, Esq., Agent State, Lansing.

DEAR SIR: We yesterday received your reply to our second proposition. We should, perhaps, have said therein that we did not propose to hold you personally responsible, in case you should agree to our request. We now say so. Very truly,

Winslow, Lanier & Co.

Walker still repudiates!

Indianapolis

DAILY JOURNAL

FRIDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 11, 1863

Interest on the State Debt.

The card which we publish this morning from Governor Morton explains itself and requires no comment. We have, however, learned an important fact not stated in the card, to wit, no agreement whatever has been made with Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co. for the payment of any interest or compensation for the use of the money to be advanced by them in paying the interest on our State stocks. The whole matter is by them referred to the good faith of the State, and there is no danger of their being allowed to suffer.

The preservation of the fair fame of the State rendered it absolutely necessary that something should be done. The failure to pay the interest in July did not impair the credit of the State with those who understood the facts, and only affected that of the officers who brought it about. But the trouble was that the facts were not generally understood. The State had failed to pay her interest from 1841 to 1847. A compromise was then made by which one half of the debt was cancelled by a transfer to her creditors of the Wabash & Erie Canal, which turned out to be a total loss, the State pledging herself faithfully to pay the interest on the other half.

This agreement was honestly kept until July last, and the credit of the State was almost entirely restored. The development in 1860 of the enormous "Stover frauds," consisting of a spurious issue of stocks of over two millions and a half of dollars, again seriously threatened the credit of the State, and when in July the State failed to pay her interest on her genuine stocks the world began to say there was some strange fatality about Indiana stocks, and there was great danger that the credit of the State would again go down, and if it did, would never be restored. The foreign stockholders, owning more than two millions, not understanding the whole case, became especially anxious and began to manifest a determination to get their Indiana securities once more and forever.

The Governor, after exhausting every means to get the money from the Treasury to meet the July interest, made an arrangement with Winslow, Lanier & Co. for its payment. But Walker, the State Agent, refused to use the money put at his command for that purpose, or to allow any access to his books to enable them to pay it and save the credit of the State.

We feel assured that the people of Indiana, those who pay the taxes and have at heart the good name and welfare of our State, will not only endorse and approve the action Governor Morton has taken in this matter. The debt against us is a just one; the money to pay it, and raised for that particular purpose, is now in the State Treasury. But with the intention of bringing discredit on the Executive of the State for not calling an extraordinary session of the Legislature, whereby it was hoped that Copperheadism would be liquidated and "freedom" made lawful, the Auditor and Treasurer of State, under the slavish influence of the Agent of State in New York, failed and refused to pay a dollar, even though the credit of the State was sunk forever. We say, then, that the action of Governor Morton will be approved by the people of the State and of other States and countries as an honest act, and that, despite the desperate machinations of desperate men, the fair fame of Indiana shall remain unimpaired.

Since the above was written, Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co. have telegraphed that they will commence paying the July interest on Wednesday, the 10th inst.

Interest on the State Debt to the Public.

Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co. will pay at their banking house, in the city of New York, the interest on the Indiana five and ten and a half percent stocks, which fall due on the first of July last, and that which will fall due on the first of January next.

The failure to pay the interest in July was not caused by the want of money. The money was in the State Treasury for that purpose and still is, but the State Auditor and Treasurer refused to remit it to New York, alleging the absence of a technical appropriation.

In June last he concluded an arrangement with Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co. for the payment of the July interest. They notified the Agent of State in New York, Mr. John C. Walker, elected by the late Legislature, that they would pay the interest, and to enable them to do so, requested a list of the stockholders to be taken from the books of the Agency. This he refused to furnish. They then notified him that they would pay his checks issued to stockholders for their interest in the manner in which the payments have always been made, and exonerate him from all personal liability whatever. He refused to avail himself of the offer, and suffered the interest to go unpaid. They could not safely go forward and pay it in the absence of the required list. I have taken steps to prepare what is believed to be a correct list from other sources, which will be completed in a few days when the payment of the July interest will be proceeded with at once.

Notice of the day when payment commences will be given by Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co. I have employed J. K. Gopen, Esq., who was clerk in the office of the State Agent under Col. Hudson, to assist them in making the payment.

The State of Indiana has made ample provision for the payment of the interest on all her stocks, and the money is in the Treasury for that purpose, but is withheld as above stated, and this arrangement has been made and the money advanced by Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co., for the credit of the State.

O. P. MORROW, Gov. of Indiana.
Indianapolis, Dec. 10, 1863.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

J. F. D. LANIER.

(Printed for the use of his family only.)

SECOND EDITION.

1877.

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TO MY CHILDREN.

In the following pages I have prepared for you a brief sketch of some of the leading events of my Life, believing that I can leave to you no legacy more acceptable.

I was born in Washington, in the County of Beaufort, in the State of North Carolina, on the 22d day of November, 1800. My father was Alexander Chalmers Lanier. His mother's maiden name was Sarah Chalmers. She was nearly allied to the family of Chalmers in Scotland, of which Dr. Chalmers, the celebrated divine, was afterward a member. It was this connection that gave my father his middle name. My mother was a native of Virginia. Her maiden name was Drusilla Doughty.

My first paternal ancestor in this country was Thomas Lanier, a Huguenot, of Bordeaux, France, who was driven out of that country by religious persecution, near the middle of the seventeenth century. He went first to England, and came from that country to this, either in company with, or about the time that John Washington, the ancestor of George Washington, emigrated to it. He subsequently married Elizabeth, a daughter of John Washington, and ultimately settled in North Carolina.* In his native country he was a man of high social position, and possessed a large estate, a considerable portion of which he contrived to bring away with him, although confiscated

* The old Colonial Records at Richmond, Va., show several grants of land to Thomas Lanier by the Crown, in the Counties of Brunswick and Lunenburg, in that State, to the extent of about three thousand acres.

by law. He also brought with him a portion of the family furniture, which was long retained by his descendants as interesting and valued heirlooms. His children were Richard, Thomas, James, Elizabeth and Sampson Lanier. It was from the first named that our branch of the family descended. His children were Lewis, Buckner, Burrill and Winifred. Lewis, our ancestor, married a Miss Ball, a sister of the mother of General Washington. He was my great-grandfather. His son, James Lanier, was my grandfather. My account of the emigration of our ancestor to this country, and of his marriage into the Washington family, is derived from a statement of the late George Washington Parke Custis, the grandson of Mrs. General Washington, taken from the records of the Washington family in his possession. The marriage of my great-grandfather with a sister of the mother of General Washington is a well-established tradition in our family, but I possess no authentic record of the fact.

My grandfather, James Lanier, was a planter. He was well educated, a cultivated gentleman, energetic and public spirited, and took an active part in the war of the Independence, serving through the whole of it as captain in Colonel William Washington's regiment of light cavalry, which was particularly distinguished for its efficient service. He was in the battles of Eutaw Springs, Guilford Court House, the Cowpens, and, I believe, of King's Mountain. These were among the most brilliant achievements of the war. He also served as captain in General Wayne's expedition against the Northwestern Indians, in 1794, which not only avenged the defeat of General St. Clair, but completely destroyed their power, and for the first time gave

peace to, and prepared the way for the future settlement of the great Mississippi Valley.

In 1789, I think, my grandfather moved to Nashville, Tennessee. The Southwest was then just coming into notice. Among the immigrants into that section was General Andrew Jackson, afterward so famous in the history of the country. For some time after his arrival at Nashville he was an inmate of my grandfather's family. My grandfather, subsequently, about 1791, removed to Bourbon County, Kentucky, of which he was soon appointed Prothonotary, or County Clerk. From thence he moved to Pendleton County, Kentucky, where he passed the remainder of his days.

Soon after my birth, my father moved to Bourbon County, Kentucky. He invested his property in lands, and lost it by defect of title, with which much of the real estate of that State was tainted, and which produced wide-spread disaster and ruin. In consequence of these losses, he moved in 1807, to the town of Eaton, in Preble County, Ohio. Upon reaching this State, he manumitted two valuable family slaves, the only ones he held, being prohibited from doing so in Kentucky by the laws of the latter. He had the satisfaction of seeing them both useful and respected in their new condition of freedom. I have always greatly valued this act of my father, as these slaves constituted quite a portion of his property. The act was, however, only in harmony with his whole character.

For a considerable portion of the time that my father resided at Eaton, he was clerk of the courts of the county. Upon the breaking out of the war of 1812, he entered the army and served during the whole of it. He served under

General Harrison, with the rank of major, in his Northwestern campaigns, and had in charge a long line of defences, extending westerly from Lake Erie, and following up the valley of the Maumee, the most important of which was *Fort Wayne*, situated on a narrow neck of land separating the waters flowing into Lake Erie from those flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, and named in honor of General Wayne, and in commemoration of his celebrated Northwestern campaign, in which my grandfather served. Upon the site of the fort, erected in the last century for the purpose of preventing the incursions of hostile savages, has grown up one of the most flourishing towns in the West, which has now become the centre of a vast system of railroads, the most important of which is the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago. By a singular coincidence, the very ground which my father and grandfather periled their lives to wrest from savage tribes, I have labored long and earnestly, though in a different way, to improve and enrich by the arts of peace, and thus to complete their work. The territory, once so remote and inaccessible, and whose forests were the covert for the treacherous Indian, has, through the instrumentality of the railway, been brought within easy distance of Eastern markets, and is now one of the most populous, flourishing and prosperous portions of the West.

While at Eaton I attended the village school for about eighteen months. It was kept by a Mr. Stevens, who taught only the rudiments of an English education. While there I served as clerk in the store of a Mr. Cornelius Van Ausdall, an immigrant of Dutch descent from Hagerstown, Maryland, and a very worthy man. I believe he is still

living. I have always looked upon my service with him as one of the most valuable periods of my early life. It taught me to be industrious, active, methodical, and the value, if I may use the word, of small things. I was brought into contact with all varieties of people, had to turn my hand to every kind of work, and learned how to be respectful and obliging to all. The stock in the store consisted chiefly of light cotton goods, twists, buttons, and the smaller articles of hard and tin ware, and other articles suited to the primitive condition of the people with whom we dealt. The greater part of the trade consisted of *barter*. The most valuable articles received in exchange for goods were peltries of one kind or another. The route to the Eastern markets was up the Ohio River to Pittsburg and Wheeling, in keel-boats; thence by wagons to Philadelphia or Baltimore. There were in those days neither roads nor steamboats in the West. The cost was too great to allow the transportation of the produce of the Western country to market, except a small amount of flour, corn and provisions sent down the river in arks, or flatboats, to New Orleans. Nearly everything was produced in the family that was consumed in it. The only money then in circulation was silver—Spanish coins chiefly, received by way of New Orleans. This was packed on horses when the merchant went East to make his purchases, and the lighter kinds of goods brought back in the same manner. The trip to and from the Eastern States was then an affair of greater magnitude and peril, and required a greater length of time than that at present between New York and San Francisco; or, between New York and Europe. The country was wholly without good roads, and almost the

nly mode of travel, as of transporting merchandise, was upon the backs of horses and mules.*

* Only six years before my grandfather moved to Tennessee, General Washington crossed the Allegheny mountains for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of constructing a navigable water line from the Potomac to the Ohio. The report of his journey and observations describes so accurately the condition of the Western country at the time, and the necessity of improved highways to unite it firmly with the Eastern States, that I cannot refrain from copying a portion of his communication addressed to the Governor of Virginia:

"I need not remark to you," said Washington in the communication referred to, "that the flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too, and how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of the Union together by indissoluble bonds—especially that part of it which lies immediately west of us—with the Middle States. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon those people in the Mississippi Valley)? How entirely unconnected with them shall we be, and what troubles may we not apprehend, if the Spaniards on their right and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling-blocks in their way, as they now do, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? What, when they gain strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive (from the immigration of foreigners who will have no predilection for us, as well as the removal of our own citizens), will be the consequence of having formed close connections with both or either of these powers, in a commercial way? It needs not, in my opinion, the gift of prophecy to foretell.

"The Western States (I speak now from my own observation) hang upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way. They have looked down the Mississippi till the Spaniards, very impolitely, I think, for themselves, threw difficulties in the way; and they looked that way for no other reason than because they could glide gently down the stream, without considering, perhaps, the difficulties of the voyage back again and the time necessary to perform it; and because they had no other means of coming to us but by land transportation and unimproved roads. These causes have hitherto checked the industry of the present settlers; for, except the demand for pro-

In 1815 I attended, for about a year and a half, an academy taught by Messrs. Morse and Jones, at Newport, Kentucky. They were excellent teachers, and I derived great benefit from their instruction. In 1817 my father moved to Madison, Indiana. This State was admitted into the Union the year previous, and contained about 60,000 inhabitants scattered very sparsely over the southern portion of it. At that time the Indian titles were extinguished only twenty miles north of Madison. At this place my father opened a dry-goods store. The town at that time contained about one hundred and fifty people. It had been so recently settled that it was still a forest—the trees that were not standing almost covered the ground where they fell. It was wholly without streets, or any improvements fitted to make it an attractive or agreeable place. After our removal to Madison I had, for a year and a half, the almost inestimable advantage of a private school taught by a very superior person from the Eastern States. When not at school I assisted my father in his store. At this period, General Harrison, afterward President of the United States,

visions, occasioned by the increase of population, and the little flour which the necessities of the Spaniards compel them to buy, they have no incitements to labor. But smooth the road, and make easy the way for them, and then see what an influx of articles will be poured upon us, how amazingly our exports will increase, and how amply we shall be compensated for any trouble and expense we may encounter to effect it."

It has been reserved to the present generation, by the construction of railways, to "smooth the road and make easy the way" for the West. The results have vastly more than fulfilled the anticipations of the Father of his Country. These works have not only rendered the country indissoluble, but have created a commerce the magnitude of which really exceeds belief.

and who was a warm and life-long friend of our family, procured for me a cadetship at West Point. I was very eager to accept the appointment, but relinquished it, seeing that my mother was greatly distressed at the thought of my leaving home, I being her only child.

In March, 1820, my father, who had long been ill from diseases contracted while in military service under General Harrison, died. My father, from his infirm health, was not successful in his business in Madison, and died insolvent. I settled up the estate, and, ultimately, as I acquired property of my own, paid all his debts in full.

In 1819 I commenced the study of law in the office of Gen. Alexander A. Meek, of Madison. I finished my legal course by graduating at the Transylvania law school in Kentucky, in 1823. I immediately commenced the practice of law in Madison, which at that time had a population of about 300. I was diligent, strove to be respected, and made it a point to be punctual in every duty and appointment. It was early my purpose of life to respect scrupulously the rights of others, but always to be firm in the assertion of my own. It was the rigid adherence to this plan of life, if it may be so called, to which I owed my success. My diligence and fidelity in every engagement gave me the command of whatever money I wanted, as it was well known that I would never allow my liabilities to exceed my means. While in the practice of the law I made the cause of my clients my own. Success or defeat, consequently, gave me more pleasure or pain than it did them. I was, for this reason, very successful; but I found the labor and anxiety of my profession too much for my strength, which led me to give it up as soon as other

satisfactory openings for business presented themselves. While in the practice of the law, I traveled what was called the Southeastern District of Indiana, practicing in a large number of counties. The only mode of traveling in those days was by horseback. On most of the routes traveled we were guided by trails or *blazed* lines, which were often preferable to what were called roads which, from the friable nature of the soil, were speedily so cut up as to be almost impassable, particularly in the wet seasons of the year. The rivers were crossed in log canoes, and by swimming our horses, when they could not be forded.

In 1824 I was appointed assistant clerk of the House of Representatives of the State, at the last sitting of the Legislature at Corydon. The next meeting was at Indianapolis, the present capital. I continued assistant clerk until 1827, when I was elected chief clerk. My compensation was \$3.50 per day. I kept the journal in which was entered all the proceedings of the House, and did the reading. My duties required the greatest diligence and the closest attention. I soon became master of the rules and modes of conducting business, and was in this way enabled to be of service to members, many of whom, although men of sense and ability, often found themselves in positions of embarrassment from want of familiarity with legislative proceedings. My good offices were often availed of in the drawing up of motions and bills, and in guiding the conduct of members on the floor. I regard my office of clerk of the House as one of the chief causes of my future success. It enabled me to form an intimate acquaintance with all the leading men of the State, many of whom, in after life, were not slow to reciprocate the good offices I had done them.

With my practice and my salary as clerk of the House, I was in receipt of quite an income, for those days, in the West. My habits were simple and economical, at the same time I studied to make every one dependent upon me, among whom was my mother, comfortable and happy. My surplus means were, as fast as acquired, invested in real estate, which, as in all new States, rose rapidly in value.

When clerk of the House, the trip from Madison to Indianapolis required three days of fatiguing travel on horseback. It is now performed by railroad in about four hours.

In 1833, upon the chartering of the State Bank of Indiana, I retired from the practice of the law, and took a prominent share in the management of that institution. I held a larger amount of the stock first subscribed than any other individual. This bank consisted of a Central Bank, located at Indianapolis, with ten branches in as many leading towns of the State. I was the first President of the Madison branch. The Central Bank was not one of discount or issue. Its functions were a general supervision of the branches, being a Board of Control, of which Mr. McCulloch, afterward Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and myself, were among the leading members. Notwithstanding the managers of the bank, at the time it went into operation, were wholly without training or experience in such matters, many of them never having been inside of such an institution, it proved a model of success, and consequently most beneficial to all the interests of the State. The capital was almost wholly borrowed from abroad, and through the credit of the State, which took

\$1,000,000 of the stock, and loaned its credit to individual stockholders to the extent of one-half the stock subscribed by them, taking as security therefor, real estate at one-half of its unimproved value. The credit of the State was high, its five per cent. bonds selling at a premium averaging from twelve to fifteen per cent. It may seem incredible that a bank, based almost wholly upon capital borrowed, and that too through the instrumentality of the State, should have proved such a success. It would appear to have been almost inevitable that in a country lacking in commercial training, where the demand for capital is always excessive, where the managers of trust funds have every inducement to make a reckless use of them, and where, among the great mass, there is very little idea of the importance and value of promptness in the payment of obligations, the bank, if it did not lose its capital, would soon find it converted into various kinds of property taken in payment of loans, or in the overdue notes of its borrowers. The bank commenced business at one of the most critical periods of the history of the country—at the very beginning of that great era of speculation which nearly bankrupted the whole nation, and which culminated in the terrible catastrophe of 1837. At this disastrous crisis nearly every bank in the Western and Southwestern States failed, with the exception of that of Indiana. A very large number of those of the Eastern States were totally ruined. It would seem to have been almost impossible that the Bank of Indiana, then one of the newest of the Western States, should not have become involved in the general catastrophe. So far from this being the case, the bank not only paid dividends averaging from twelve to fourteen per cent. annually, but returned to

its stockholders nearly double the original investment when it was wound up at the expiration of its charter in 1854. For the \$1,000,000 invested by it in this institution, the State received, in profits alone, fully \$3,500,000. These profits now constitute the school fund of the State, the increase of which, being invested in the State indebtedness, is rapidly converting the whole of it into an irredeemable fund to be devoted to educational purposes. The bank was the only one of the numerous enterprises in which the State embarked that did not prove an almost total failure.

As we had always intended to keep our banks in position to meet any emergency that might arise, we had not in the least anticipated the general suspension, in 1837, in the Eastern States, till that event happened. Our Board of Control were then in session at Indianapolis. We were at the time the depository of \$1,500,000 of Government funds. I was instructed by the Board to proceed immediately to Washington to represent our condition, and to confer with the Secretary of the Treasury as to what we, in the emergency, should do. I took with me \$80,000 in gold. I went up the Ohio River in a steamboat to Wheeling, and thence by stage, chartered for the purpose, alone across the mountains to Frederick, at that time the Western terminus of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and 61 miles west from Baltimore. I suffered not a little anxiety on account of the treasure I carried more than 300 miles, through a wild and comparatively uninhabited region, and was not a little relieved on reaching the safe conduct of a railroad. On arriving at Washington I obtained an interview with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Hon. Levi Woodbury, explained to him the position and the entire solvency of

our bank, and delivered to him the gold I had brought with me, in part payment of our balances. He received me with great cordiality, and said that our bank was the *only one* that had offered to pay any portion of its indebtedness in specie. We were allowed to retain the Government deposits till they were drawn in its regular disbursements. At his solicitation I consented to act as Pension Agent for a portion of the Western States. For the pensions I paid, drafts were made upon the Government deposits in our bank. Drafts were also made upon us in payment of troops, transportation of the mails and other services. In all these payments our bank-notes, from our well-known credit, were received equally with specie. In such payments all the balances against us were liquidated in a manner entirely satisfactory to the Government, and greatly to our convenience and advantage.

In April, 1838, a convention of the officers of the banks of the United States was held in New York, for the purpose of considering the subject of resuming specie payments. I attended the convention as the representative of our bank. In the debates that took place I earnestly favored the proposition for immediate resumption. The position I took greatly pleased the venerable Albert Gallatin, who, aged as he was, was the leading spirit of the convention, and who was much gratified in finding himself earnestly supported from a quarter from which he had not expected aid. He took occasion to thank me personally and warmly for the grounds I took. I recollect my interviews with him on this occasion with great pleasure.

At the period of which I have been last speaking, nearly all the Western States, Indiana among them, embarked in

elaborate systems of internal improvements. These were entered upon without proper reference to the wants or conditions of the country, and embraced extensive water lines, which were either impracticable or of little value when completed. The different States assumed to provide, by an issue of their bonds, the means for their construction. These proving wholly inadequate, failure on a gigantic scale was inevitable. For such works the State of Indiana incurred a debt of about \$10,000,000, without realizing any substantial benefit therefor. It was still without the works necessary to give value to its products, by opening to them the markets of the East. Wheat raised in the interior of the State at the period referred to, would not bring more than 25 cents the bushel. Indian corn would not bring more than one-half this amount. The chief value of the latter was to feed it to live stock. There could be no substantial recovery till the works were constructed, which have since quadrupled the value of these as well as of all other products of the States. But years had to elapse before their construction could be undertaken with any hope of success. The people were too poor to construct them. The credit of the States was destroyed: and if it had not been, constitutional provisions were enacted by most of them forbidding them to create a debt for any work of internal improvement. A paralysis for a long time seemed to rest upon the whole country. After the resumption of specie payments in 1838-9, most of the banks of the country again suspended in 1841. In fact, no decided recovery took place till the acquisition of, and discovery of gold in, California, in 1848, from which event may be said to date the physical development of the country, which is now the marvel of the world.

One of the most important branches of our banking business was the purchase and sale of exchange made by the internal commerce of the country. At that time the only outlets of the interior, as far west as Indiana, were the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers. New Orleans was the sole port of export. We purchased largely bills drawn against shipments of produce to this port. As these bills were about to mature, it was my custom to go to New Orleans to invest their proceeds, and such other means as our bank could spare, in the purchase of bills drawn in New Orleans upon shipments of produce from thence to the Eastern States. The proceeds of the latter bills, at their maturity, supplied us amply with exchange for our Western merchants, in payment of their purchases of merchandise. In this way we were enabled to turn our capital several times each year, and at a good profit, without the loss, I believe, of a single dollar in any transaction.

I continued in the management of the Madison Branch Bank and a member of the Board of Control till 1849, when the subject of railroad construction again began to excite general attention and interest. During the twelve years that had elapsed since the great calamity of 1837, the West had increased rapidly in population and wealth, and the necessity for improved highways was felt to be more imperative than ever. The acquisition of California, and the discovery of immense deposits of gold within it, gave to the whole nation an impulse never before felt. Numerous railway enterprises were again proposed in the West, and I felt that the time had at last come when they could be safely undertaken as remunerative investments for capital. Residing at Madison, Indiana, I had been instrumental in the

resuscitation of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, originally a part of the system of public work which the State had attempted to construct, and had learned from the early success of that road what might be expected of other lines more favorably situated. For the purpose, therefore, of embarking in the construction of railroads on a wider scale, I went to New York in the latter part of 1848, and on the first day of January, 1849, I formed a copartnership with Mr. Richard H. Winslow, the chief object of which was the negotiation of railway securities, although we contemplated, in connection therewith, a general banking business. At that time there were in operation in the West only about 600 miles of line.* These roads were chiefly the remains of the old State systems which had been sold out to private companies, and were almost without exception badly located and imperfectly built. They were in all cases laid with the light, flat bar, upon longitudinal sills, and were utterly incapable of sustaining heavy trains, high speed, or a large traffic. They had, consequently, involved in heavy loss all who had been engaged in their construction. I felt, how-

* On the first day of January, 1849, the following lines of railroad were in operation in the States north and west of the Ohio River:

	<i>Length of Line.</i>
OHIO.—Little Miami	84 miles.
Mansfield and Sandusky	56 "
Mad-River	2 "
INDIANA.—Madison and Indianapolis	186 "
MICHIGAN.—Michigan Central	146 "
Michigan Southern	70 "
Erie and Kalamazoo	33 "
Detroit and Pontiac	25 "
ILLINOIS.—Sangamon and Morgan	53 "
Total	655 miles.

ever, their want of success to be no argument against lines properly constructed upon good routes. I undertook to demonstrate this in every way in my power, particularly in newspaper articles and pamphlets, of which I published great numbers in connection with the negotiation of the securities of various companies which we undertook. The result of our efforts soon far exceeded our expectations. Although we began in a very small way, every step we took gave us increased business and strength, and we soon had all the business we could attend to. Commencing with the bonds of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, which were the first securities of the kind ever brought out in the New York market, we followed them with the bonds of the Little Miami; Columbus and Xenia; Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati; Cleveland, Painesville and Ashtabula; Ohio and Pennsylvania (now a part of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago); Michigan Southern, and other important lines. We not unfrequently negotiated a million of bonds daily. The aggregate for the year was enormous. We were without competitors for a business we had created, and, consequently, made money very rapidly. The commissions for the negotiation of bonds averaged at first five per cent. With their negotiation we often coupled contracts for the purchase, at a large commission, of rails. Our business soon became so great that it was a question with us, not so much what we would undertake, as what we would reject. We not unfrequently took, on our own account, an entire issue of bonds of important lines.

The negotiation of the securities of companies was followed by arrangements that made our house the agent for

the payment of interest accruing on them, as well as transfer agents. Such arrangements naturally led the way to the banking business to which we afterward chiefly confined ourselves. The extent of our business as well as of our success exceeded all expectation. During the period of six years, from 1849 to 1854 inclusive, in which we were actually engaged in the negotiation of railway securities, 10,724 miles of line were constructed, nearly one-half of which were in the Western States. With all the more important lines we were in one way or another connected. At one period we paid the interest on fifty different classes of securities. These facts will convey some idea of the magnitude of our business and the vigor and energy with which it was conducted.

The uniform success of the enterprises in behalf of which we acted was something remarkable, and has since been a source of great satisfaction. I feel that investors, as well as the country at large, have been greatly benefited by my labors. The interest on almost all the securities brought out by us has been regularly paid, while, in not a few instances, there has been an enormous profit upon the prices paid. Our house was the first to bring out county and city securities issued for the construction of railroads. These securities were instrumental in the construction of an immense extent of line, which, but for them, could not have been built, while they have proved a most excellent investment. In no instance, I believe, have the counties and cities, the bonds of which we negotiated, made default, either in principal or interest.

Rapid as has been the progress of railroads since we first

engaged in their construction, that of their commerce is a matter of still greater surprise and wonder. Considered in reference to its magnitude, they have created the present immense wealth of the nation. Previous to their construction, the products of the interior, only a short distance removed from navigable water-courses, had no commercial value. The greatest abundance of the peculiar products of a section might give only an inconsiderable amount of comfort, and no wealth. With such works, the whole natural wealth of the country became at once available to the uses of man. When we consider that the commerce of the country, borne upon railroads, dates from a period considerably subsequent to the time I left the West for New York to embark in these enterprises, and that this commerce to-day measures, in bulk, 100,000,000 tons, having a value of \$10,000,000,000, and that the earnings of our railroads equaled \$400,000,000 in 1868, against \$40,000,000 in 1851, and that the investment in them, now amounting to \$1,800,000,000, has increased to like ratio, the vastness and rapidity of this development will be in some degree appreciated. I have not only been contemporaneous with all its growth, and, to some extent, instrumental in promoting it, but I reach far beyond its first inception. In one respect, therefore, my life, as does, in fact, that of every middle-aged man, covers a wider experience than that of all the generations of men from earliest history to the present time.

In the West, twenty years ago, precisely the same means were used for the transportation of persons and property that were used in the very infancy of the race. So, too, nearly all the other methods of domestic economy were en-

tirely similar for the two widely-separated periods. When a child, and till I reached manhood, the clothing I wore was made up at home, and by members of the family. The present generation, consequently, have, in all that relates to the economy of life, what might be termed an universal experience. The coming one will have only that which belongs to itself.*

At the close of 1854 we withdrew from the negotiation

* As already stated, the number of miles of railway in operation in the Western States in 1849, the year I removed to New York, was 655. On the first day of January, 1869, twenty years thereafter, there were 16,889 miles in operation. The number in each State, at the dates named, is shown in the following table:

Ohio	242	3,398
Michigan	274	1,199
Indiana	86	2,600
Illinois	53	3,440
Wisconsin . . . . .	.....	1,235
Minnesota . . . . .	.....	572
Iowa . . . . .	.....	1,523
Kansas . . . . .	.....	648
Nebraska . . . . .	.....	920
Missouri . . . . .	.....	1,354
Total miles	655	16,889

The increased railroad mileage in these States in twenty years was 16,234 miles, or an average of 812 miles annually. The capital invested in them on the first day of January, 1869, at the rate of \$40,000 per mile, equaled \$675,556,000, the increase in the twenty years being fully \$665,000,000. The aggregate tonnage of the roads for 1869 equaled 1,500 tons to the mile, or an aggregate of 25,333,000 tons, of which the increase exceeded 25,000,000 tons. The value of this tonnage, at \$150 per ton, equaled \$3,750,000,000, nearly the whole of which was a creation of the period named. These illustrations will show how rapid has been the growth of the West for the past twenty years. When I compare its present condition with what it was forty years ago, I am at a loss for language to express adequately the change.

of railway securities, and confined ourselves chiefly to banking, for which our previous success had opened a wide field. We, however, continued to be the financial and transfer agents of a large number of railway companies whose securities we had negotiated.

In 1857 the health of Mr. Winslow began to fail. In consequence of this he retired from our firm in 1859. He died on the 14th of February, 1861. He was a man of rare force and energy of character, and, by thoroughly comprehending the value of railways, admirably adapted to the business in which we embarked. He had, above all men I ever knew, the faculty of inspiring others with the zeal and confidence which he himself felt. Whatever he undertook was certain to be accomplished. When we consider the results that railroads secure—that every mile of line built adds immediately fourfold its cost to the aggregate value of the property of the country, and that the traffic which it creates and which passes over it exceeds annually six times such cost, we can form some idea of the services rendered to society by a man whose energy and influence was instrumental in the construction of an immense extent of line. He was one of the leading spirits that inaugurated and sustained the great movement that led to the construction of the vast system of works that are now spread, like a net-work, over the whole country, and which now embraces nearly 50,000 miles of line. He never ceased from his labors till compelled to do so by his declining health. All my relations with him were of a most harmonious character, and it gives me great pleasure to pay this tribute to his memory.

Although our firm did not after 1854 negotiate railway

securities to any considerable extent, we continued to cherish a lively interest in those enterprises in behalf of which we had acted, and frequently rendered them pecuniary assistance in emergencies in which they not unfrequently found themselves placed. The great movement which commenced in 1848 culminated in 1857, in a suspension of specie payments by the banks, and in an excessive prostration of business throughout the country. No interest suffered so severely as the railroads. Nearly all of them had been constructed upon borrowed capital, and most of the companies owed large floating debts. All wanted large additional means, either to complete their works or to discharge pressing liabilities. Even so late as 1858 the earnings of roads were not one-quarter their present amount. These earnings, owing to the embarrassments into which every kind of industry and business had fallen, decreased largely for several years, and in many cases proved wholly inadequate to meet even the calls for interest. Many of our most valuable enterprises were forced into bankruptcy, and had to be reorganized by new adjustments of interests, and, in most cases, by large sacrifices on the part of the stock and bondholders. A period of great general depression and discouragement followed one of previous confidence and hope. In this crisis it devolved naturally upon parties who had been instrumental in providing the means for the construction of roads to raise them from their depressed condition, and place them, if possible, in a position in which they could be successfully worked and realize the expectations formed of them. Among the companies that yielded to the financial storm was the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago—a company

with which I had been early identified, whose securities we had negotiated, and for whose good name and success I was most solicitous. To its restoration I consequently devoted no small portion of my time, till all its embarrassments were happily surmounted, and the road placed in a position of perfect independence, in which it proved itself to be one of the most valuable enterprises of the kind in the United States. Perhaps I cannot better show the difficulties into which this work, in common with many others, had fallen, and of its subsequent recovery, than by copying the following article in reference thereto from the *New York Times* newspaper, under date of July 21, 1869.

"In 1859 the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad, in common with most other lines, was overwhelmed in the financial revulsion which had swept with resistless force over the whole country. The road had been just opened to Chicago. The line was originally undertaken by three companies, none of which possessed means at all adequate to the construction of their several links. The road when opened was hardly more than half completed. Its earnings, not equaling one-quarter their present amount, were wholly insufficient to meet current expenses and the interest on its funded debt. Default, by necessary consequence, was made on all classes of its securities. Bankruptcy stared the concern full in the face, threatening the loss of nearly the whole amount invested.

"In this crisis a meeting of its creditors, chiefly first mortgage bondholders, was called at the office of Winslow, Lanier & Co., to consider what was to be done. This class of creditors, of course, had the precedence. If they insisted upon the letter of the law, they would inevitably cut off all subsequent parties in interest, who represented an amount of capital in-

vested in the road twice greater. After much deliberation, it was decided to raise a committee to be invested with full power, and, if possible, save the interests of all. This committee consisted of Mr. J. F. D. Lanier, who was appointed by the creditors its chairman; Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, Mr. Louis H. Meyer, Mr. J. Edgar Thomson, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Mr. Samuel Hanna, of Fort Wayne. To give some idea of the chaos existing in the affairs of the company, we may state that there were outstanding, at the time, nine different classes of bonds, secured in one way or another, upon the different portions of the road; two classes secured by real estate belonging to the Company, and several issued in the funding of coupons. Upon all these, interest for several years, amounting to many millions of dollars, was overdue. The principal sums of several of the first mortgages were speedily to mature. The Company also owed more than \$2,000,000 of floating debt, portions of it in the form of judgments recovered in the State courts. The road was in extremely bad condition, and required the expenditure of a large sum to enable it to conduct its business with any degree of economy or dispatch.

"Such was the condition of affairs when the Committee commenced work. The value of the securities of the Company was merely nominal. Its stock would not sell for five cents on the dollar. Each class of creditors was striving to gain some advantage at the expense of the others. The first step of the Committee, consequently, was to put the property beyond the reach of individuals and in the custody of the courts. An order for this purpose was obtained in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, on the 17th of January, 1860, and Mr. Wm. B. Ogden was appointed receiver.

"The Committee set out with the determination of preserving, if possible, the rights of all the parties in interest—not alone those of the first mortgage bondholders. It was hoped

that when the property was put beyond the reach of individual creditors, an arrangement might be effected and the rights of the various parties preserved in the relations they had previously maintained. But such an adjustment required the assent of each creditor and stockholder. This, in the multiplicity and conflict of interests, it was found impossible to obtain. The next, and only remaining course, was to sell the road and property of the Company by an order of Court in behalf of the first mortgagees. Such sale would vest absolutely the title to the road in the hands of the purchasers, who would thus be in position to make such disposition of it as in their view equity and justice might demand. It would also enable them to apply the net earnings to the construction of a good road, without which the investment itself would be of no value.

“With this purpose, a full plan of reorganization, such as was finally adopted, was prepared and published, and brought, as far as possible, to the attention of every party in interest. Decrees for sale had to be obtained in the Courts of the United States for four different States. The time required for this purpose was occupied by the Committee in incessant efforts in removing one impediment after another thrown in their way by unfortunate and dissatisfied creditors, who were indifferent to the fate of the concern, provided they could get their pay. All difficulties were at last overcome, and on the 24th of October, 1861, the road and property was sold at auction, and purchased by Mr. Lanier, in behalf of himself and his associates, for the sum of \$2,000,000. The Courts, we are happy to say, facilitated legal proceedings as far as this could be properly done. They had full confidence in the Committee, and sympathized with the unfortunate creditors of the concern, and not, as at the present day in our State, with bands of conspirators against the public welfare, who seek the control of great lines with no other purpose but to plunder them. Eight years ago, meas-

ured by what has since transpired, was a golden age of judicial purity.

"By the sale of the road a most important step was gained. The title to it vested, absolutely, in the purchasers. They could convey it to whom, at what price and upon what terms they pleased. What followed was more a matter of detail, though involving great patience and labor. For the creation of a new Company, according to the original plan of reorganization, legislation had to be obtained in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Such legislation was at last secured, a new company formed, to which was conveyed the railroad and everything appertaining thereto, the Committee receiving therefor, first, second, and third mortgage bonds, in amounts sufficient to meet the sums due the different classes of creditors in the old Company; and also certificates of Stock corresponding in amount to that outstanding in the old. First mortgage bonds to the amount of \$5,200,000, were issued to the first mortgage bondholders of the old Company, and of the several links of which its road was composed, and for accrued interest. The bondholders were also required to fund, for two years, the interest accruing on the new bonds, so as to allow, for such a period, the application of the net earnings to construction. The second mortgage bondholders received, in the same manner, and subject to similar conditions, second mortgage bonds to the amount of \$5,250,000. The unsecured creditors were paid off in third mortgage bonds to the amount of \$2,000,000. The shareholders received new certificates in exchange for the old. By such means each class of creditors, without the abatement of a dollar, were fully and completely reinstated in the new Company in the order they stood in the old. The proper transfers and exchanges were made, and on the 1st day of May, 1862, two years and six months after the road was placed in the

hands of a receiver, and six months after the sale, the trust, so long held and faithfully executed, was brought to a virtual close, to the entire satisfaction of every party in interest in the road.

"During the period of reorganization the road was operated, under the general direction of the Committee, by George W. Cass, its former and subsequent President. His well-known abilities as a railroad manager were never more conspicuously displayed than in this service. He had every difficulty to contend with—an impoverished and half-completed road, with clamorous creditors at every turn. The Chairman of the Committee was not unfrequently called upon to advance, from his private funds, considerable sums in aid of the operations of the road. Such advances were, of course, repaid, but only with simple interest. The good name and financial strength of Mr. Lanier, joined to his well-known prudence and caution, tended to inspire great confidence in the action of the Committee in which he justly exerted great influence. Mr. Thomson's position as chief of a great and successful enterprise, enabled him to render very great aid to the Committee in the operations of the road. Indeed, it was through his instrumentality that the old company was enabled to push its line through to Chicago. Mr. Tilden was the chief legal adviser of the Committee and Company throughout. He had charge of the proceedings, not only for the winding-up of the old, but for the formation of the new Company, and for the recent transfer of the road to the Pennsylvania Company, and drew up all the documents and guarantees relating to the same. The proper discharge of his duties involved the fate and security of the whole investment. Not a suggestion has been ever raised that they were not ably and faithfully performed. The directors of the Company, pending its reorganization, rendered valuable assistance. Many of them resided upon the line of the road, and were enabled to

exert a salutary influence, not only among the creditors of the Company, but in securing the legislation required. But it is, perhaps, invidious to particularize when all worked faithfully and well. Not a dollar was ever paid to secure the legislation required for the formation of the new Company; not a dollar to buy off importunate or unreasonable creditors. The Committee never had a secret which they turned to account at the expense of the stock and bondholders. Their plans were prepared and published in the outset, and scrupulously adhered to.

“Soon after the new Company commenced operations it was seen the enterprise had passed its darkest days. For the year ending December 31, 1862, the net earnings of the road equaled nearly \$2,000,000, all of which were applied to construction. The Committee was enabled to add largely to its available means by the sale of property purchased with the road, but not needed in its future operations, and which, in fact, they were not, by the terms of the trust, to account for to the new Company. The sums realized from these sources, and paid over to the Company, equaled about \$600,000, of which some \$400,000 was saved by a compromise which the Committee were enabled to make with European holders of bonds secured by real estate. All the advantages gained by such settlements were given to the new Company.

“In 1863 the net earnings equaled nearly \$3,000,000. These sums enabled the Company to place its road in first-rate condition; and on the 1st day of April, 1864, it commenced the payment of dividends at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, free of Government tax, in quarterly payments of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. each. These were continued regularly to the 1st day of July, 1869, when the road was leased to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for 999 years at an annual rental of 12 per cent. on its share capital.

“In this lease the Pennsylvania Company assumes every obli-

gation or charge for which the Fort Wayne Company are, or may be, liable. It pays the sum of \$19,000 annually for the maintenance of the organization of the former. It keeps up the annual contributions to the sinking fund. These contributions will, in twenty-six years, wholly pay off the bonded debt of the Fort Wayne Company, leaving the stockholders the sole owners of the road; and, in conclusion, it agrees to pay an annual rental of \$1,380,000, a sum which equals 12 per cent. annually upon the stock, *free of Government tax*, or of any other charge. The terms of the lease also allow the Fort Wayne Company to increase its share capital *seventy-one and three-sevenths per cent.*, and to issue certificates for the whole capital, upon which, for the entire period of the lease, *seven per cent. a year, in quarterly payments of one and three-quarters per cent.*, free of Government tax, is to be paid. All these payments, as well as the accruing interest, are to be made directly to the agency of the Fort Wayne Company, in New York. When we consider that the net earnings of the road largely exceed the rental paid, and that this rental is guaranteed by the most powerful and successful railroad corporation on this Continent, and that the lease will inure even more to its advantage than to that of the lessors, in placing a common line under a common head and management, certainly it is not within the power of man to make a better security, or one in which trust funds can be more securely placed.

"We have thus put on record a detailed statement of the resuscitation and success of a great enterprise, as an example of what has been and may be accomplished by upright, able, and public-spirited men. In no country do railways bear a relation to the internal economy of a people so intimate as in ours. No investments, consequently, can be so productive as those made in good and well-managed lines. There is no doubt that the gross earnings of the railroads of the Northern States equal fully

30 per cent. annually of their actual cost. One-third of this, at least, should be net, and we take pleasure in placing an illustration before our readers, where the best possible net result has not only been secured, but secured as it should be, to those who are and have been the owners of the property."

I have given this statement as an example of what patient labor and watchfulness may accomplish under similar circumstances. We not only saved a vast property, at one time, to all appearances, wholly wrecked, but made it one of the most productive railroads in the country, and finally leased it in perpetuity to one of the richest and most prosperous corporations in the United States—the Pennsylvania Railroad Company—at an annual rental of 12 per centum per annum, after making full provision for the principal and interest of its debts. An immense investment was not only saved, but rendered productive almost beyond precedent; and with it, great numbers of persons whose means were invested in the road saved from poverty and want. In their comfort and happiness I am well repaid for the toil and anxiety which I underwent on account of this work.

In 1860, the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency of the United States, an event which I earnestly desired, was followed by mutterings of the coming storm, which soon burst upon the country with resistless violence. I was too old to take the field, but I gave whatever aid and encouragement I could to the cause of the Union. It was not long, however, before I was called upon to assume more responsible duties, on account of the relations which I had sustained for the State of Indiana. That State voted for Mr. Lincoln, and at the same time elected State officers

in political sympathy with him. The Hon. Henry S. Lane, who had been elected Governor of the State, was chosen by the Legislature, upon its assembling, as Senator in the Congress of the United States. By this event, the Hon. O. P. Morton, Lieutenant-Governor, became the Chief Magistrate. The war found the State almost wholly without means for arming, equipping or sending into the field the quota of troops required of it. It had no money in its treasury, and in the general distrust which prevailed, and in the universal scramble for money, for all the loyal States, as well as the Federal Government, were in the market for it, it was found impossible to sell its bonds, or to provide in season, from its own resources, the means required. In this dilemma Governor Morton applied to me for a loan of money to arm and equip the quota of troops required of his State. I complied with his request, and continued such advances as they were required, till the whole amount reached \$400,000. With this sum he was enabled to arm and equip his quota in a most satisfactory manner, and despatch it to the field more promptly than that of any other Western State. Indiana at all times was nearly equally divided upon the subject of the war. Whatever, consequently, tended to inspire the confidence and raise the spirits of the Union party within it greatly strengthened the hand of the Executive, and had a most important and favorable influence upon the great contest.

In 1862, owing to the reverses that had befallen the Union arms, the elections in many of the States went adversely to the National cause. In Indiana a majority of the members returned to the Legislature for that year were bitterly opposed to the war, and to all measures

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necessary for its vigorous prosecution. They were determined, if possible, to take the State out of the Union ranks, and place it in direct antagonism to the Government at Washington. The success of their disloyal schemes might have proved fatal to the great cause. None understood this better than themselves. Indiana was not only one of the leading States of the West, but in many respects it occupied a position of first-rate importance. It was centrally situated, and extending from Lake Michigan to the Ohio, it would, in disloyal hands, have been in a position to cut off all communication between the West and the East. Its southern border rested upon territory where the great mass of the people were strongly infected with the spirit of rebellion. This State, consequently, became emphatically the battle-ground of the contest in the North. If its influence had been arrayed against the Union, the infection might have spread to other States, as there were in all abundant material eager to take advantage of any event that might embarrass or defeat the action of the Government. A united front on the part of all the Northern States was absolutely essential to success. Such a front, happily, was preserved throughout the whole war.

The plan adopted by the disloyal members of the Legislature of Indiana was, to divest the Governor of all power over the militia, and to vest the control of the same in a committee of their own creatures. They refused to pass the necessary appropriation bills till their schemes should become a law. To defeat their plans the only course left to the loyal members was to retire from the Legislature,

which they did. That body, consequently, was left without a quorum. Their retirement put an end to the iniquitous projects, but it left the Governor without the means of preserving the credit of the State. It was held by the Supreme Court of the State that without a special act he could not pay the interest accruing on the State debt, although it had been previously supposed that the Constitution of the State had provided for such a payment without any special law.

In this emergency Governor Morton, most anxious to preserve the honor and credit of the State, applied to me to advance the sums necessary for the purpose. Unless this could be done he felt that he could not justify, before his own State and the country, the position which his friends in the Legislature had taken through his counsel and advice. The application was made at the darkest period of the whole war. I could have no security whatever, and could rely for reimbursement only on the good faith of a Legislature to be chosen at a future and distant day, and upon the chances of its being made up of more upright and patriotic members than those composing the one then in existence. If the great contest should turn out disastrously to the cause of the Union and of freedom, I could never expect to be repaid a dollar. I felt, however, that on no account must the debt of a great State be discredited, nor the position of its Chief Magistrate, the ablest and most efficient of all the loyal Governors, and who of all contributed most to our success, be compromised or weakened. No alternative was left to me but to advance the sums required. I would not allow

myself to be responsible for the consequences of a refusal of his request. If the credit of the State in such a critical period should be destroyed, that of the other States, and even the Federal Government, might be so impaired as to render it impossible for them to sustain the immense burdens of the war. Another influence of very great weight with me was an ambition to maintain the credit of a State with which I had so long been identified, to which I was indebted for my start in life, and for whose credit in former times I had earnestly labored. The last, perhaps, was the ruling motive. I accordingly addressed a note to the agent of the State for the payment of the interest, offering to pay that falling due July 1, 1863, and requesting him to supply me with a list of the holders of the State stocks. He peremptorily refused to furnish such list, being himself one of the conspirators in destroying the State credit. A list had to be procured from other sources of information. As soon as this was obtained, I commenced the payment of interest, which was thereafter promptly paid by me on the days it fell due. These payments were continued two years. The whole amount advanced by me on this account was \$640,000. In the meantime the State was practically without a Legislature. The disloyal members were constantly in the expectation that the Governor would be compelled to call them together, as the only means of enabling him to carry on the government. The Governor well knew that if they were called together, they would take from him the power to control the militia of the State, and he determined to hold out, which he did, till a new Legislature should be chosen.

The following extracts taken from the message of Governor Morton, made to the General Assembly of Indiana, January 6, 1865, give a brief and succinct history of the efforts made to destroy the credit of the State, and to embarrass its action in the war, and of the aid rendered by our house in defeating them.

“Shortly after the Legislature adjourned, the question was sprung as to the existence of legal appropriations for the payment of the interest upon the public debt, and the opinion of the Attorney-General was published, denying their existence and any power to withdraw the money from the Treasury to pay the interest, which opinion was indorsed and acted upon by Mr. Ristine, the Auditor of State. Believing that the question had its origin in political considerations, and that there was little room to doubt as to the legal right and duty of the Treasurer to remit the money to New York to pay the interest, I at once took issue with these gentlemen. The State had failed to pay the interest upon her bonds from 1841 to 1847, during which time she acquired a reputation for repudiation and bankruptcy, from which she only recovered after many years of faithful discharge of her obligations. The dark cloud which had thus been placed upon her financial character had seriously retarded her growth in wealth and population, deterring emigration from other States. In 1846, she effected a compromise with most of her creditors, by the transfer of the Wabash and Erie Canal for one-half of her debt, and issuing new stock for the other half, upon which she solemnly pledged herself to pay the interest semi-annually.

“This pledge, and the legislation had in pursuance of the compromise, was treated by Governor Whitcomb and the various officers of State, as a valid appropriation of the money necessary to pay the interest under the old Constitution, which

upon this subject is like the present. In 1850, the framers of the new Constitution, by the twentieth section of the tenth article, solemnly ratified this contract with the bondholders, by appropriating all the revenue of the State, derived from taxation for general State purposes, after defraying the ordinary expenses of the State government, to the payment of the interest and the liquidation of the principal of the public debt. It was clearly the purpose of the new Constitution to place the credit of the State beyond the contingency of dishonor by acts of omission or prohibition on the part of the Legislature. Under the new Constitution, further legislation to pay the interest was not deemed necessary, and this construction was acted upon by all administrations down to 1863; although, perhaps, in one case, a formal appropriation was made without any definite purpose. An action for a mandamus against the Auditor was commenced by Mr. W. H. Talbott, President of the Sinking Fund Board, for the avowed purpose of having the question settled, which was carried through the Circuit and Supreme Courts, and resulted in a decision, by the latter, against the existence of an appropriation. Without intending any disrespect to the eminent tribunal by which this case was decided, I must be permitted to observe that the history of its origin, progress, and conclusion was such as to deprive it of any moral influence, and that the principles upon which the decision was made have been since openly disregarded by the Auditor and Treasurer of State in the payment of large sums of money to the Public Printer. But leaving out of view wholly who was right or wrong upon the legal question, it was a matter of the first importance that the obligations of the State should be promptly met, and her credit rescued from the disaster of a new dishonor. It had received a shock in the discovery and exposure of the Stover forgery of our State stocks amounting to nearly three millions of dollars, from the evil consequences of which it was relieved only by a deter-

mined effort on the part of the State authorities to bring the criminals to justice. No argument was required to prove that, should it again become impaired by serious failure upon the part of the State to meet her engagements, it could not be restored during this generation, and the progress of the State in wealth and population would receive a serious check. Determined, if possible, to avert the threatened calamity, I went to New York and laid the whole matter before the house of Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co., with the request that they should advance the amount necessary to pay the interest, until such time as the Treasury might be unlocked, and the money obtained therefrom. My request was generously met, and, after full consideration, acceded to, provided a correct list of the stockholders could be obtained. It is proper to state that, in making this arrangement, no stipulation was asked for or given, in regard to the compensation they should receive for the use of their money, and the risk and trouble they should incur; but the whole matter was referred to the future action and good faith of the State. They at once notified John C. Walker, Agent of State, of their readiness to pay the interest, and asked him to furnish, from his books, a list of the stockholders, for the making out of which they offered to pay. This he peremptorily refused, and denied access to his books, from which they desired to copy the list. They then proposed to him that he should pay the interest in the usual way upon his own books, agreeing to honor his checks issued therefor, at the same time exonerating him from all personal liability for any moneys so paid. This offer was likewise refused. The correspondence between Winslow, Lanier & Co. and Walker upon this subject, is herewith submitted for your consideration.

“As Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co. would not take the responsibility of paying in the absence of a correct list, owing to the existence of a large amount of spurious stock, which other-

wise they had no means of detecting, the interest which fell due on the first day of July, 1863, went unpaid. Determined not to be defeated, if possible, in the effort to preserve the credit of the State, I attempted to secure from other sources a correct list of the stockholders, and in this attempt succeeded, in November. In the meantime the necessity for action had become more manifest and imperative than before. While the American stockholders had a correct knowledge of the state of affairs, and but few stocks were changing hands or being offered in the market, the case was quite different with our stockholders in Europe. In Europe, American politics are always badly understood, and the principal fact, which they clearly comprehended, was, that they did not receive their interest. They associated this failure with that of 1841, and began to say that there was some strange fatality attending Indiana securities, and declared their intention of sending them back to America and getting clear of them at once and forever. Such a measure would have given the State a bad name abroad, seriously affecting emigration to her borders, and would have been followed by great depreciation and loss of credit throughout the United States.

“Having presented the list to Messrs. Winslow, Lanier & Co., they promptly renewed their offer, and gave public notice that they would pay the back interest which fell due in July, and afterward gave further notice that they would pay the interest accruing on the 1st day of January, 1864, the 1st day of July, 1864, and the 1st day of January, 1865; and up to the 31st of November last, as I am advised, had paid out four hundred and sixteen thousand six hundred and seventy-seven dollars and eight cents.

“How much they have paid since the 1st of January, 1865, I am not advised, but presume it will make the aggregate as much as five hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. The noble and generous conduct of this house should and will be appreci-

ated by the people of Indiana ; and Mr. Lanier, in his clear comprehension and able management of the affair, has displayed not only financial ability, but a broad statesmanship not often exhibited in financial affairs.

"I trust that the generous confidence which he has reposed in the good faith of the people of Indiana will not be disappointed, and that the Legislature will hasten to reimburse him for the money he has expended, and indemnify him for the use of it, and for the trouble he has incurred.

"In conclusion, upon this subject, I am glad to be able to say, that the credit of the State has been fully preserved ; and that her stocks now command a higher price, relatively, in the market, when compared with the stocks of other States, bearing like interest, than at any former period in her history."

In 1864 the Presidential election again took place. Mr. Lincoln was a candidate for re-election to the presidency of the United States, as was Mr. Morton for the governorship of Indiana. This State was one of the first to vote in the fall elections of that year. Its action, in view of the events that had occurred in it, could not fail to be regarded as the key-note of the campaign, if not conclusive of the great contest that was speedily to follow. In that State the canvass necessarily turned upon the extraordinary condition of things that had existed in it for two years ; upon the policy of the Union party in breaking up the Legislature ; the refusal of the Governor to re-assemble it, and upon the responsibility he assumed of paying the interest on the State debt without provision of law. One of the ablest men in the State was nominated as his opponent. The two canvassed the State, Governor Morton in vindication, and his competitor in condemnation, of the policy and

course that had been pursued. It was a contest in which Mr. Lincoln took a very deep interest, not only from its significance in reference to his own election, but from the interest he took in that of Mr. Morton, who, of all the civilians in the United States, probably rendered the most efficient and valuable service in putting down the great rebellion.

In the canvass before the people, Mr. Morton acquitted himself with transcendent ability. Mr. Lincoln, in reading a report of the speech of Mr. Morton, by which it was opened, said, "That settles the Presidential election." The result fully justified his expectation. Mr. Morton everywhere carried the people with him, and upon no issues more heartily than in their approval of the policy of the Union party, which, to avert a greater evil, had left the State without a Legislature for two years, and of the steps by which its faith and good name had been maintained. He was elected by more than 20,000 majority, in the most heated canvass ever known in the State. The result there turned public sentiment everywhere in favor of the Administration; and in the following month, Mr. Lincoln was elected to the presidency by the almost unanimous voice of the North.

At the State election for 1864 a majority of the Union members were returned to the Legislature, by whom provision was made for the repayment of the sums I had advanced, with no other compensation than interest on the amount, which was all I desired or would have received. I had, however, the most gratifying proofs of the esteem which my action had secured for me throughout the State.

Every loyal man felt that I had averted a disgrace in which he must have shared. The effect upon the politics of the State was decisive. It has ever since been a steady supporter of the Union cause. At the next vacancy occurring in the Senate of the United States, Mr. Morton was chosen to fill the place, which he now holds in a manner both honorable to himself and the State.

I omitted to mention, in its proper order, my connection with the adjustment of the debt of the State of Indiana in 1847. As already remarked, that State had previously embarked in elaborate systems of public works, the means for the prosecution of which were wholly raised by sales of bonds. In the embarrassments which followed, the State made default in the payment of interest on these bonds, and remained in default till the amount due reached the sum of about \$12,000,000, of which sum \$4,000,000 were for interest. At the session of the Legislature of the State for 1846-7, an act was passed for an adjustment of the debt, commonly called the "Butler Act," authorizing an issue to the holders of the old bonds, of a five per cent. inscribed State Stock, to an amount equaling one-half that of said bonds; and a transfer, to Trustees, for the benefit of the bondholders, of the Wabash and Erie Canal, with the lands belonging to the same, upon the condition of the surrender of the old bonds—the payment of the other half of these bonds being chargeable upon the canal and its revenues.

It became necessary, therefore, that some person should visit Europe for the purpose of explaining the financial condition of the State, to secure the assent of such bond-

holders as had not acceded to the proposition made them, and to make the exchanges of securities. I was appointed to this mission, and proceeded to Europe early in the summer of 1847. The new securities to be issued, viz.: the certificates of State stock, and of ownership in the canal, were placed in my hands fully executed, with the exception of dates, amounts, and names of parties to whom they were to be issued. These I was authorized to insert on making the exchanges. I was accredited to Sir J. Horsley Palmer, then Governor of the Bank of England—a staunch friend of the United States, and whose place of business in London I made my headquarters; to Baron N. M. Rothschild, of London; to Baron James Rothschild, of Paris; to the house of Hope & Company, of Amsterdam—these parties, or the houses with which they were connected, holding or controlling large amounts of the bonds. Immediately upon my arrival in London, I prepared and published a statement embodying the plan of settlement proposed, and urging, with what arguments I could adduce, its acceptance. My duties brought me into intimate contact with the gentlemen named, and also with Mr. Labouchere, then manager of the house of Hope & Co., of Amsterdam. I had occasion, in the execution of my mission, to visit, several times, the cities named, and also Geneva, Switzerland, where some of the State bonds were held. The result was, that I was enabled to get up nearly all the outstanding bonds, and was in this way instrumental in placing the credit of the State on the firm basis upon which it has ever since rested. The State immediately entered upon a career of prosperity, which has never flagged to the present moment. A virtual repudiation had

destroyed its public spirit, and had been a bar to capital and immigration coming into it. Since the funding of the debt, no State in the Union has made more rapid progress than Indiana. It has constructed 3,000 miles of railroad. These works now penetrate every portion of its territory. Its debt has been almost wholly paid to the holders, by taxation, or from the proceeds of the school fund arising from the profits accruing from the interest of the State in the State Bank. The benefits resulting from the adjustment of this debt have been almost incalculable.

I was not only successful in my mission, but I had a most agreeable visit—my first to Europe. I was most kindly received by all the parties to whom I was accredited, and by others. Mr. Labouchere's ancestors, like my own, were Huguenots, and were driven out of France about the same time that mine were, and for a similar cause—adherence to the principles of the Reformation. His ancestors fled to Holland; mine to America. A kindred ancestry, as it were, and a kindred experience brought us into close sympathy. Sir Horsley Palmer also treated me with gratifying attention, and invited me to his princely country seat at Fulham, on the Thames, a few miles from London. The acquaintances I then made were of immense service to me in the business in which I subsequently engaged, and have added greatly to the pleasure of subsequent visits to England and to the Continent.

On my return home I delivered up the bonds I had taken up, together with the unused certificates of State and Canal Stock. My accounts were settled most satisfactorily,

and I received the thanks of the State authorities for the manner in which I had executed the trust confided to me.

In 1865, as I was about to visit Europe, I received communications, copies of which I give elsewhere, from the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of State of the United States, requesting me to act, in its behalf, in explaining to capitalists abroad the character of our public debt and the means and disposition of our people for its payment. This mission I undertook with earnestness, being fully persuaded that no better securities could be made than these of the United States. This conviction I sought, with whatever power I possessed, to impress upon others. At Frankfort-on-the-Main, I was formally invited to address a public meeting of Bankers and Capitalists upon the subject of my mission. It was largely attended, and I had an opportunity not only to submit some detailed remarks, but for a free and full conference with gentlemen composing the meeting, nearly all of whom could speak my native tongue. My remarks were published in German and English, and freely distributed, through the Consulates, throughout the Continent and England. I believe they were instrumental of much good as they embodied the arguments in favor of our securities in a concise form, and in one that had not been previously presented, and one that could be used by others, particularly my own countrymen, equally with myself. Of these I annex a copy :

REMARKS OF MR. J. F. D. LANIER, MADE AT A MEETING OF BANKERS AND CAPITALISTS, AT FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN, ON THE 14TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1865.

"The national debt of the United States, on the first of August of the present year, was, in round numbers, \$2,720,000,000, to wit:

Debt bearing interest payable in gold	\$1,108,000,000
" " " " in currency	1,053,000,000
" " no interest	559,000,000

"It is estimated, upon the most competent authority, that the national debt, after all the expenses of the war are finally liquidated, will not exceed \$3,000,000,000.

"The revenues of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1865, were \$318,251,589.10, of which \$82,000,000 were in gold, from Customs.

"The revenues for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1866, were estimated at \$396,000,000, of which \$80,000,000 will be in gold from Customs, \$300,000,000 from internal taxes, and \$16,000,000 from lands and miscellaneous sources.

"The interest on the entire national debt of \$3,000,000,000 is estimated at \$165,000,000, leaving \$231,000,000 for the expenses of the Federal Government and other purposes.

"These estimates were made in June last, at the commencement of the fiscal year. Since that time the receipts from customs have increased so rapidly, that instead of \$80,000,000, as estimated, the revenue from this source, in gold, may reach \$130,000,000.

"This increase is largely owing to the trade which has been opened up at the South since the suppression of the rebellion. Although the war destroyed for a time the commerce and industry of this section, and deprived the people of the ability to maintain their railroads and to navigate their rivers, and left

them little but the *cotton* which had been accumulated, this is found to be sufficient to furnish a very large amount of means with which to supply their wants, and lay, anew, the foundations of their prosperity. The receipts of cotton from the South, at New York, equal 20,000 bales weekly; and have been followed by corresponding exports to that section of supplies, and whatever is necessary to the restoration and development of its resources.

"The national debt of England at the end of the war with France, in 1816, amounted to \$4,205,000,000. It has since been reduced only \$250,000,000. It equaled \$218.20 to each individual, and $40\frac{4}{10}$ per cent. of the aggregate value of the whole property of the Kingdom. Since the battle of Waterloo her wealth has grown at a slow but steadily increasing rate—from 20 per cent. in the first, to 41 per cent. in the last ten years, thereby reducing the burden of the debt from $40\frac{4}{10}$ per cent. on the national wealth, to 12 per cent.

"The census of 1860 showed the wealth of the loyal States to be \$10,716,000,000, and a yearly product \$2,870,000,000 in value, or $26\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their aggregate capital.

"The wealth of the loyal States increased, in the ten years between 1850 and 1860, at the rate of 126 per cent., or $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. Assuming these amounts and rates as a basis, we have for June, 1865, a wealth of \$16,112,000,000, and an annual product of \$4,318,000,000, without making any estimates on exports.

"In 1833 the national wealth of England was estimated at \$17,200,000,000. For the *United States* the figures given are by no means *estimates*, but are results accurately obtained through the Census Bureau. These results enable us to estimate the amount of the national wealth at the close of future periods, to wit:

In 1870 the national wealth will equal	. . . . .	\$24,218,000,000
In 1880	" " "	48,436,000,000
In 1881	" " "	51,516,000,000

"In the last-named year, consequently, the interest on the national debt of \$3,000,000,000, will equal only $3\frac{3}{10}\%$ per cent. of the national wealth.

"This estimate of the reduced percentage of the interest of the national debt in ratio to the national wealth, is made upon the rate of increase of national wealth prior to the rebellion.

"On this calculation, what will be the increase for the next sixteen years? Let us look a little more carefully into this question. During the last ten years the increase of wealth in nine of the Northwestern States and Territories of the United States was not less than $411\frac{1}{2}\%$ per cent.—the aggregate increase being from \$452,500,000 to \$1,862,000,000. Four new Territories, which did not appear in the census of 1850, had a valuation in 1860 of \$98,000,000. Those since organized—Dacotah, Nevada, Colorado, Arizona and Idaho—are not embraced in this estimate. These last-named States and Territories are as rich in precious metals of all kinds as was California.

"As another important source of wealth and revenue, the United States still holds 950,000,000 of acres of unsold lands which, now that the war is closed, will soon come into market, and which should bring \$1,000,000,000 into the public Treasury.

"But what is of vastly greater importance is the rapidly increased value of these lands, consequent upon their occupation and settlement. The taxable value of property in the Northwestern States, as has been shown, increased at the rate of $411\frac{1}{2}\%$ per cent. from 1850 to 1860. In 1880 this value will be thirty times greater than it was in 1860, and form the basis of a revenue infinitely greater than what could be derived from the sale of their lands; so that if every dollar derived from this source

should be bestowed upon the new States by the Federal Government, in aid of internal improvements and for educational purposes, their taxable wealth and the revenue derived from them would soon exceed many times the sums so bestowed. It is not only in what we now possess, but what we are capable of accomplishing, that our strength lies.

“Our minerals are another vast source of yet undeveloped wealth. At least 1,000,000 square miles of our territory are surpassingly rich in gold, silver, copper, lead, quicksilver, coal, gypsum, salt, etc., etc. From their recent discovery our gold and silver deposits, except in California, have hardly begun to be worked. Were they worked even to the extent that they are in that State, they would produce, it is estimated, at least \$200,000,000 annually, while the other minerals named would yield at least one-half this sum, were proper means of transportation and communication provided. Such results are not probabilities of a far distant future; their accomplishment is sufficiently near to be an all-important element in enabling the country to bear the burdens imposed upon it. They are, in fact, the necessary and inevitable consequence of the progress of a people who already number 34,000,000 souls—who double their population every twenty-three and a half years—who possess every implement and contrivance that science and art have contributed in aid of labor—who are urged forward by a resistless spirit of enterprise, confident of their future, and of their ability to surmount all obstacles that may oppose their way. Such a people may be safely entrusted with the greatest responsibilities, and are equal to any emergency in which they may be placed.

“But upon the future growth of these undeveloped Territories we by no means place our confidence of the ability of our people to bear the burdens imposed upon them. The aggregate increase of the wealth of the older States has been vastly greater, though

the ratio of the increase may not have been so great. That of Ohio has increased within ten years at the rate of 126 per cent., although the State was founded 77 years ago; that of the States of New Jersey and Connecticut, though founded more than two centuries ago, increased in a like rate; that of Pennsylvania increased, within the same period, at the rate of 96 per cent., upon the already large aggregate of \$722,000,000.

“For the last four years the Northern States supplied all the means for carrying on the war, and for defraying the expenditures of Government. We are fast being relieved of the former, at the same time that the States recently in rebellion are now contributing their portion to our already diminished burdens. These are soon to be reduced more than one-half, while our increased means from an united country must exceed by at least one-third what they have been. By the census of 1860 the wealth of the Southern States equaled \$3,467,000,000. In the period of five years, from 1855 to 1860, they doubled the value of their products. They will in a very short time be restored to a condition of prosperity far exceeding anything in their former experience. The great drawbacks to the proper development of their resources have been removed. They possess all the blessings and advantages—which cannot be over-estimated—of a temperate zone and of a semi-tropical climate. What they have lacked have been population, skilled labor, a spirit of enterprise, and the manifold industries of free institutions; all these essentials to prosperity have been secured to them by the war.

“A short period, therefore, only is required for the realization of the promise which our natural wealth and resources afford. Taking the past as a basis of calculation for the future, the United States, in 1880, will have a population of 60,000,000, and a national wealth of \$60,000,000,000. It will then not only be able to meet the interest on the public debt, but will be able to discharge it with entire ease—and, true to our historic policy, will undoubtedly do

so. The national wealth of Great Britain, in 1816, was only half as great as is that of the United States at the present time, yet its debt has already been reduced from 40 to 12 per cent. of its wealth. That of the United States in 1880, will be only 5 per cent. of its wealth, should the amount of the debt, in the meantime, remain unreduced.

“Should revenues additional to these already provided be required, they may be easily raised by taxes levied upon cotton and tobacco and other articles of the re-established Union, of which we monopolize the production of the world. It is estimated that our revenue may be increased from these sources from \$60,000,000 to \$100,000,000, without any diminution in the consumption of the articles taxed, and without injury to our commerce or to any domestic interest.

“The manner in which the obligations of the United States are held should add greatly to the confidence of foreigners in them. Of the whole amount outstanding, not more than \$300,000,000, or one-tenth of the whole, are held abroad. All classes at home, poor as well as rich, have invested their savings in them. Very large amounts are held in sums not exceeding \$50. Preference is universally given to them over all other kinds of investment. No national loan was ever so universally distributed. Each citizen felt himself a party to the contest, and contributed to it according to his ability. All, consequently, are directly interested in maintaining inviolate the public faith.

“It is a great error to suppose that the Northern States have been exhausted in consequence of the war. There is most convincing proof to the contrary in the ease and readiness with which they have supplied the Government with money, and whatever was necessary for its prosecution, and have absorbed the vast debt that has been created. The Government has neither directly nor indirectly borrowed a dollar in Europe. The bonds that have found their way there have gone in the regular course of trade.

"The vast demand created by the war for munitions, materials, and supplies of all kinds gave to the agriculture of the West and the manufactures of the North a wonderful impulse, which still continues. The resources of those sections remain not only unimpaired, but have been greatly augmented. Great as are their burdens, the people feel themselves perfectly able to bear them, and that they have an ample equivalent for them of a nature far transcending mere material advantages. They have for the first time established their nationality upon an immutable basis. They have removed the great source of discord and alienation—slavery—and they are infinitely stronger and more united than ever before. Under the able and judicious administration of our affairs, the nation has started anew on a career of growth and prosperity unexampled in its own history, or in that of any other people.

"The nation has pledged its honor for the fulfilling of all its obligations. Success has given a full equivalent for them. Its wonderful experience has served to give confidence in and ability for the future, and no one who considers our means, our present position, or the guarantees of the past, can doubt the payment of our national debt."

On my return home I received not only the thanks of the Government for the services I had rendered, but gratifying evidences of appreciation of them from private individuals. I annex the following Associated Press Report of my interview with the President and Secretary of the Treasury, on presenting my report:

"WASHINGTON, Friday, Nov. 3, 1865.

"Mr. J. F. D. Lanier, the well-known banker of New York, who recently returned from Europe, whither he went some time ago on a confidential mission for the Government in connection with the national finances, yesterday had an interview with the

President and the Secretary of the Treasury, to whom he submitted a report of the results of his mission. Mr. Lanier everywhere found the best of feeling prevailing, in financial circles, with relation to the United States, particularly on the Continent, and great confidence in our public securities. At Frankfort-on-the-Main he addressed, at length, a large meeting of capitalists, embracing representatives from nearly every leading house in Germany. The complete and utter overthrow of the rebellion was a matter of equal surprise and congratulation, and the demonstration made of the power and wealth of the North was a subject of unusual admiration. But the war being ended, the expectation was confidently expressed by the European holders of our securities, that we would immediately commence a return toward specie payments, however gradual the progress in such direction might be. Such a step, it was represented, was absolutely necessary to the maintenance of confidence in our securities and in the policy of the Government. The ability of the country to bear all the burdens of the war was not questioned, especially with the rapid progress of the work of Reconstruction, which bids fair to restore political and social amity to every portion of the country. With a wise and correct policy, there will be no limit to the demand for our securities, not only on the Continent, but in England, where our military successes were fast opening the eyes of their people as to the value of our bonds. But the feeling against any further increase, and in favor of a steady contraction of the currency, was universally expressed as the sole condition on which our credit abroad could be maintained. It is understood that the views of Mr. Lanier were heartily responded to, both by the President and the Secretary of the Treasury."

I also annex a copy of a letter received from Hon. Samuel Hooper, M. C. :

“THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS,
 “HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
 “WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 24, 1865.” }

“MY DEAR SIR—I have to thank you for your kindness in sending me a printed copy of your remarks recently made at a meeting of European capitalists at Frankfort-on-the-Main, which I have read with much interest and with most hearty approval of them.

“I consider you entitled to the thanks of all loyal men for them; and I congratulate you on the results which so soon after added confirmations to your statements.

“With great respect, I am,

“Your ob’d’t servant,

“J. F. D. LANIER, Esq. (Signed) “S. HOOPER.”

Since the date of the above remarks, I have had, in common with every American citizen, the gratification of witnessing an uninterrupted improvement of our national credit. All that I, or others, could do was to present the evidence upon which this appreciation has been based, and show what we were and what the future must do for us. But even my anticipations have been far exceeded by the result.

In this connection I also copy the following article from the New York *Times* newspaper, of January 19, 1866:

“OUR FINANCIAL POSITION ABROAD.

“The effects of our great struggle are beginning to be felt in Europe at the moment we are emerging from them here. The wave set in motion is moving round the world, uniform in its course and resistless in its power. We have demonstrated that the nationality of a Republic, based solely upon the conviction of its value, is far more firmly grounded in the hearts of the people than institutions based upon tradition, and fortified by pride of ancestry and the recollection of great deeds; or by

that uniformity of life and character which ages alone can produce. Foreigners, for the first time, realize that we are a nation, with an ideal palpable to the meanest citizen—that chaos has no place in our system, and that we have the will and the power to reduce to obedience every refractory element; and that the strongest of all governments is that in which each citizen has an equal share, and is an equal partaker in the advantages which it secures.

“The first sentiment developed toward us is that of respect. Close upon that follows confidence in our material and financial condition. We have provoked a spirit of inquiry which cannot be set at rest. We no longer lack friends to sympathize with us, but hosts are coming forward to share our burdens and our prosperity. Our securities are eagerly sought for investment, particularly on the Continent, at the same time that a new impulse is given to emigration to our shores. The interest felt in us in Germany cannot be better described than by giving an extract from a letter received from Frankfort-on-the-Main, where a large number of capitalists was recently addressed by our citizen, Mr. Lanier, whose remarks have been circulated, by our Consuls, throughout Europe. It says:

“Gold or paper dollar is the question which agitates the German press and financiers. The more they discuss your financial prospects, the more they invest in your securities. On all changes, the transactions in them are enormous. Since the receipt of the President's Message and the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, the United States securities rule the market to the exclusion of every other loan. The Wurtemberg official paper has brought out a long article warning the excessive investment in your bonds; over 100,000,000 of guilders having been invested in them, to the detriment of other interests. But to the disappointment of the Government, your bonds next day rose two per cent., the Liberal press taking the ground

that the people could do nothing better than invest in American securities, as the safest loan offered in an age. These bonds are the most powerful and influential emissaries you could have sent over to the Old Continent to convert the masses to republican principles. They never before heard so much talk about America; your means and resources, your future and your prospects, are discussed everywhere, and in such favorable terms that emigration is the leading topic among the sturdy masses; and the next year will bring you, for every \$1,000 of your bonds taken in Germany, at least one of her industrious sons.'

"A similar feeling is rapidly developing itself towards us in England, as shown by the operations of the London Stock Exchange. Our securities are constantly forcing their way there, in spite of the efforts of the Bank of England and of the public press to decry their value, and to point out the danger to that country from a large investment in them.

"Such a result is not only most gratifying to our national pride, but is the proper reward of our efforts and successes, and proper homage to our national character. It is due very largely to a public-spirited gentleman who has visited Europe for the purpose of placing before the people, there, the ground and method of our strength and prosperity, and who supplied the data by which foreigners themselves could arrive at satisfactory conclusions in reference to them. His success was complete. The sentiment everywhere felt towards us is all we could wish. It has increased enormously, not only our political influence and power, but it goes far to solve any financial embarrassments that might threaten. The way being prepared, should it be thought advisable, we could have, any day, a draft upon Europe honored for almost any amount. The object of the bill now in the hands of the Committee of Ways and Means is to place such power in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury, should its exercise ever be deemed to be expedient. It is not probable,

however, that any such necessity will occur. Our own people are abundantly able to absorb all our securities, while the amounts going abroad, daily, will fully equal all we should wish to see placed in foreign hands. Our military successes, together with the material strength we have displayed, have settled our financial difficulties; and though these have in times past been very great, every day lessens the burdens they impose."

In 1868, being again about to leave for Europe, I received from the Treasury Department the following communication:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
"April 20, 1868."

"DEAR SIR—Understanding that you are about visiting Europe, I take the liberty of requesting that you will, as a friend of the Department and as a representative of it without compensation, avail yourself of such opportunities as may be presented to you to ascertain what is the sentiment of capitalists in regard to United States securities; what would be the prospect of negotiating a five per cent. loan—principal and interest, by express provision of law, payable in coin; and whether or not such bonds could be exchanged, at par, for the Five-Twenty six per cents. now held in Europe?

"I will thank you also to make, from time to time, such suggestions as you may think proper in regard to the finances of the United States, and the best steps to be taken to place the credit of our securities on the most satisfactory basis.

"With many thanks for the very valuable service rendered by you to the Government when you were last in Europe,

"I remain, very truly,

"Your ob'd't servant,

(Signed) "H. McCULLOCH,

"J. F. D. LANIER, Esq.,

"Secretary of the Treasury.

"New York."

My health during this visit to Europe was such that I could not give the attention to the requests in the foregoing letter that I desired. I, however, caused the remarks I had made at Frankfort on a previous visit, to be reprinted, with some additional matter, and circulated, widely, through the Consulates and other channels. I also conferred, sufficiently, with leading bankers abroad to satisfy myself that, in a comparatively short period, a *five* per cent. long bond, payable, principal and interest, in gold, in New York, could be made to take the place of the six per cents. outstanding, and without loss to the Government—which conviction I communicated to the Secretary of the Treasury. Everything that has since transpired has tended to confirm such conviction.

At the close of the war it was estimated that the funded debt of the Government, when all the outstanding claims should be included, would reach \$3,000,000,000. It would have reached this amount, but for the vast sums which our immense revenues enabled us to pay. At the close of the fiscal year of 1866, the ascertained debt amounted to \$2,784,073,379. By the statement made March 1, 1870, and the last made previous to the preparation of this sketch, it amounted to \$2,464,390,348, as follows:

Debt bearing coin interest	\$2,107,939,650
Debt bearing currency interest	124,012,320
Debt bearing no interest	440,442,857
Debt matured and not presented for payment	3,973,346
Total debt	\$2,676,368,173

Less in the Treasury :	
Coin	\$102,400,739
Currency	10,280,746
Bonds purchased	99,287,800
	<hr/> \$211,968,285
Debt less cash and bonds	\$2,464,399,888

Of the debt bearing *currency* interest, \$64,457,320 is for bonds issued on account of the Pacific Railroads, and which were issued subsequently to July 1, 1866. Deducting these from the above statement the total will be \$2,399,420,028, or \$384,653,351 *less* than it was three years and eight months previous. The rate of payment has exceeded \$100,000,000 annually.*

The average market value of the 6 per cent. 1881 bonds of the Government, in 1864, was 110; that of gold, for the same year, 220. The value of the bonds in 1865 equaled 106 per cent.; that of gold 138. The market value of the 1881 bonds on the 10th of March, 1870, equaled 114; that of gold, 111. These figures express, better than any language, the rapidity with which the credit of the Government has appreciated.

Since the close of the war I have not taken any active part in public affairs, but have devoted myself to banking—a business which our house has followed for the past fifteen years. We have retained a connection with several of the enterprises which we helped into existence, and have fre-

* NOTE.—For the year ending 1st March, 1871, the debt had been reduced about one hundred and ten millions more.

quently extended to them aid in their financial affairs. I am a business man, from taste as well as from long habit. The period of my business life has probably been the most remarkable one in all history. Steam was first successfully applied to locomotion in the latter part of 1829—only forty years ago! Since then the progress made in the physical sciences and in the material prosperity of the world has been beyond all precedent. The most sanguine imagination could not have pictured one-half the results that have been realized. The Electric Telegraph followed speedily upon the invention of the railroad, as the necessary condition to the highest value of this wonderful contrivance. In this short period 50,000 miles of railroad have been opened in the United States. A great and unbroken line extends across the Continent from ocean to ocean, traversing, without inconvenience or interruption, the most formidable mountain barriers. The terminus of this line upon the western slope of the Continent, the City of San Francisco, now containing 200,000 people, existed only in name when I removed from Indiana to New York. The railroad, everywhere, has become the common highway of the people. Nor have other countries, though far distanced by our own, been idle in the great race of social and material progress. The same year that witnessed the completion of the Pacific Railroad has also been distinguished by the opening of a ship canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, thus realizing the dreams and hopes of the merchant, as well as the great rulers, for thousands of years. At the moment that this is being written, the great pageant of the opening of this new highway, which shortens by thousands of miles the routes to the Indies, is reported to us, word by word, as

it proceeds, by lines of telegraph wholly submerged beneath the seas! The period which embraces my business life has been one of intense activity, and of wonderful and beneficent achievements; and it is a source of the highest gratitude and satisfaction to me to have witnessed the great movements that have taken place, and to have been identified with their progress. I hope my children will be equally fortunate and happy by being equally favored with opportunities for useful and valuable labor, and to see, as I have seen, the fruit of it spring up on every hand.

I now conclude this brief sketch of some of the leading events of my life. Although I have, throughout, been an active business man, I have been subject to but few vicissitudes of fortune. I have been almost uniformly successful. I have, as a rule, enjoyed excellent health. For all these blessings bestowed by a kind Providence, I am, I trust, truly grateful. It has been my good fortune not only to have had a wide acquaintance with the leading men, and with various portions of this country, but to visit other lands, to return from them only to value more highly our people and our own institutions. As I grow in years the more am I drawn to my family and children. I trust that my example will not be without its uses in teaching my children the worth of industry and prudence in whatever walk of life they may find themselves cast. They may be assured that with these qualities, joined to integrity of character, they can never be unhappy, and never be without a reasonable share of this world's goods, nor without the confidence and respect of their fellow-men.

THE LATE RICHARD H. WINSLOW.

[From the American Railroad Journal, March 2, 1861.]

This gentleman, so well known in the business circles of this city, and for many years a leading mind in the great movement that covered our country with railways, died at his residence at Westport, Connecticut, on the 14th ult. He was born at Albany about fifty-five years ago, and was a direct descendant of Governor Winslow, of Plymouth Colony. He came to New York about thirty years since, and immediately went into business in Wall street. His prominence, however, as a public man, commenced with the great railway era of the country, which almost immediately followed the discovery of California. On the 1st of January, 1849, he formed a copartnership with J. F. D. Lanier, Esq., many years a resident of the West, and who brought to the firm not only all the qualities that can command affection and respect, but a very wide and intimate knowledge of the public men, and the wants and resources of the West. Mr. Lanier brought with him the first Western Railroad bond ever offered in this market, and the firm soon turned its attention to the negotiation of this kind of securities. At that time, Western railroads hardly existed, even in idea. There were no precedents to inspire confidence or to guide in framing a system or plan for presenting these enterprises to the public. Before anything could be accomplished a favorable opinion had to be created—a formidable undertaking where monetary co-operation was to be secured. For this office Mr. Winslow was peculiarly fitted. He was a man whose earnest convictions and great energy seldom failed to impress his own views upon all with whom he came in

contact. The commencement made by the firm, however, was in a very small way. It was compelled to take a portion of loans offered, and divide the balance among a very limited circle; the firm, even in such cases, being frequently called upon to guarantee prompt payment of interest on the loans. The bonds of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad were first brought out, followed by those of the Little Miami, Columbus and Xenia, Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, Lake Shore, and other Western railroads. The immediate success of these works fully vindicated the representations made in reference to them, and realized large profits to the purchasers of their securities. Thenceforward the operations of this firm were distinguished rather for their magnitude than for the difficulties to be surmounted. For several years nearly every loan brought upon the market was proffered it, securing to it a selection of the best offered. In a short time its operations extended to almost every State in the Union where railroads were in progress, and a very long list of our best paying projects might be named, for the construction of which this firm was instrumental in securing the means. So thoroughly had this firm become established in public confidence, that in the years of 1852, 1853, and 1854, it was no unusual affair for it to make negotiations equaling \$1,000,000 in a single day; while sales varying from \$100,000 to \$500,000 a day were of common occurrence. In 1852, the firm was enlarged by the addition to it of Mr. James Winslow, brother of the deceased.

Considering the immense number of securities negotiated, the firm was very fortunate in the enterprises selected. This was in a great measure due to Mr. Lanier, whose thorough and intimate acquaintance with the West enabled him to foresee with great accuracy the works likely to be successful. Nearly all the securities negotiated have had their interest promptly paid, while many of them rank among the very first class. This firm were also the first to introduce County bonds of the State of Ohio

upon this market, and negotiated the greater portion of these, which are still regarded as one among the most reliable Western securities.

After 1854 the firm gradually withdrew from railway negotiations and confined itself almost entirely to banking, in which it transacted a large business. About eighteen months since Mr. Winslow retired from it on account of his health, which continued steadily to decline till his decease.

What these gentlemen actually accomplished, however, is to be looked for in the results rather than in the magnitude of their operations. The credit they early established for Western securities, spread till it extended over the whole of Europe as well as of this country. The capital of both was freely proffered to our enterprises. A similar spectacle was never seen. Railroads were commenced simultaneously in every part of the Union, and in the decade just closed 25,000 miles were constructed. In one or two years 4,000 miles were opened each year. The whole system sprang as if by magic into existence, stretching from Quebec, in Canada, to New Orleans, 2,500 miles apart, and from the eastern part of Maine to the western part of Kansas, penetrating every portion of our wide domain. The whole of Europe has yet hardly constructed the extent of mileage opened in the United States within the past ten years.

The commerce of a country like the United States is mainly a creation of its public works, as these are essential to give a commercial value to the products of the interior. A person who provides the means for the construction of a railroad is a public benefactor. Its results are the measure of good he has accomplished. But such persons are often the unseen spring in the mechanism, while the one who superintends the execution of a single piece of the work becomes the conspicuous object. But for the former, the latter could have had no function or name. Now, if we take the results that followed the efforts of the

pioneers in the great railway movement, we shall have nothing in history to compare with them. In the Western States, where these have been the most conspicuous, there are now 10,500 miles of railroad, constructed at a cost of \$400,000,000, carrying freight to the amount of 7,500,000 tons annually, and having a value of at least \$500,000,000. The population of these States increased from 4,721,554 in 1850, to 7,797,528 in 1860, or at the rate of about seventy per cent. Their wealth is increased in threefold ratio. First-class cities have sprung into existence, and the whole face of the country presents the scene of a numerous, active and thriving population, with a vast commerce, nearly all the creation of its public works.

In the Eastern States, the most striking effect of these works is seen in the progress in population and commerce of the city of New York. The population of this city and its environs has increased from 645,000 in 1850, to 1,155,000 in 1859. Its exports, in 1850, were \$47,580,357; in 1859, \$146,683,450. Its imports, in 1850, were \$116,667,558; in 1859, \$229,408,130. Its wealth in the same time has more than trebled. This advance is the real measure of the results of the construction of Western railroads, as New York has reaped the same advantage as if each had been constructed for its particular benefit.

Such results, the firm of which Mr. Winslow was an active member was greatly instrumental in achieving, and it is proper that the occasion of his decease should not be passed by without a reference to them, as they are certainly the proudest monument ever erected to the memory of man.

SNOW-STORM IN THE ALPS.

The following account, written soon after the events described, will interest my children in showing them how narrowly I escaped with my life, in a great storm which I encountered in crossing the Alps in the winter season :

GENOA, Friday, Jan. 23, 1863.

I left Paris on Saturday. I had an agreeable journey by rail to St. Michel, at the foot of Mont Cenis. At St. Michel we were transferred to sleighs, or rather to diligences placed on runners. At 3 P.M., Sunday, we began the ascent of the mountain. The day was a pleasant one—calm, with sunshine. We reached the summit about 12½ o'clock at night, the weather still continuing calm and pleasant, the stars shining brightly—and we congratulated ourselves on the prospect of so pleasant a passage over this Alpine region. We had descended on the Italian side about half an hour, when the wind began to blow, drifting the snow across our route, which impeded our progress. As we continued to descend, the wind increased in violence, making it more and more difficult for us to proceed.

At 3 o'clock in the morning, having reached a point more than half-way down, the gale became terrific, roaring like a thousand Niagaras, dashing and whirling the fine dry snow so as to darken the atmosphere.

By this time the drifts had become deep, and it being dark our progress was stopped. On our left was a precipice of a thousand feet or more deep. The sleigh next in front of ours had upset with the passengers, and was only prevented going

over the precipice by its lodging in the soft snow within a few feet of the edge. The conductor now came and told us we would have to sit in the sleigh where we were, until daylight; that he must seek the protection of the lee of some rock with his horses to save himself and them from perishing from cold. This announcement, you may imagine, was anything but agreeable to us. Here we sat until about 9 o'clock Monday morning.

About 5 o'clock we heard the fall of an avalanche across the road before us, and soon after the fall of another in our rear; this greatly increased our alarm, as we did not know what moment another would sweep us over the precipice in its course. It was truly a night of horror. After daylight we anxiously awaited the return of the conductor to know our fate; he came after 9 o'clock and informed us that he would endeavor to draw the sleigh a little nearer the avalanche, to shorten the distance we should have to walk to reach it.

We had advanced but a few rods when we came to a stand, the drifts preventing our progress. Our only chance of safety was to walk to the "Cantano," or house of refuge, about four hundred yards off, the avalanches fifteen to twenty feet deep and more than one hundred wide, lying in the way. Each one had to take care of himself.

I was the last to leave the sleigh. With difficulty I reached the avalanche, and in attempting to walk over it I sank, half my length, in the soft snow. I became completely exhausted; the terrible wind took my breath away. I fell on the snow, unable to speak or rise. One of the passengers happened to see me fall, and after reaching the "Cantano" sent up two of the Cantoniers, who carried me to the house nearly in an insensible state. By dint of rubbing with spirits I revived in about half an hour.

The storm continued with unabated fury until about ten o'clock Tuesday morning, when it began to subside a little. In the afternoon of Tuesday, the chief of the Cantoniers, an active,

energetic fellow, came from below with twenty-five of his men; these, added to about ten at the "Cantano," made thirty-five men. The sleighs having been brought down, the joyful order was given to mount, which was readily complied with.

At this place I made the acquaintance of the Marquis d'Azeglio, the Italian Minister at the British Court, then on his way to London. At his request, I gave him a copy of this letter, which he said he would lay before his Government of Turin, that they might consider the subject of providing better accommodation for travelers at these "Cantanos."

I had read in my early years of the fury and power of these Alpine storms; how unfortunate travelers were suddenly overtaken and lost in the drifts and avalanches of snow, but never before did I realize them. The tunneling of Mont Cenis is progressing as fast as the nature of the case admits of; they have penetrated about one mile at each end; the blasting is through a rock of the hardest kind; the progress is about five feet a day at each end, and when completed it will be over eight miles long. The completion of the tunnel is greatly to be desired; it will make the shortest, most direct, and far the most agreeable route from Paris to Italy. This work is being done by the Italian Government.

Copies of letters addressed to me by the Hon. Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, and Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, as I was about leaving for Europe in 1865:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, }
"WASHINGTON, May 29, 1865."

"DEAR SIR—Although you are about to visit Europe for the benefit of your health, and desire to be relieved from all cares and responsibilities, I cannot permit a gentleman of your distinguished and well-merited reputation as a financier to visit Europe,

without asking of him the benefit of his services in explaining to Capitalists in that country the condition of our financial affairs, and in giving to me the benefit of such suggestions as he may be able to make in regard to the condition of American credit in the countries he may visit, and in the transaction of any business which the Treasury Department may wish to commit to his care.

"I inclose herewith a statement of our national debt. You are well advised of our national resources.

"I will thank you, while in Europe, on behalf of the Treasury Department, to explain the character of this debt and the extent of the resources of the United States, to gentlemen with whom you may come in contact, and who may be interested in these subjects.

"I will from time to time communicate with you upon these subjects, and ask of you to perform specific duties, if I should be under the necessity of requiring your particular services.

"Trusting that your journey will be a pleasant one, and that you will return to the United States re-invigorated by relaxation and travel,

"I am, very truly, your ob'd't servant,

(Signed) "H. McCulloch,

"J. F. D. LANIER, Esq.,

"Secretary of the Treasury.

"New York."

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
"WASHINGTON, 2d June, 1865.

"To the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the United States in Europe:

"GENTLEMEN—It is my pleasing duty to introduce to you J. F. D. Lanier, Esquire, a distinguished banker of the City of New York, and a most estimable gentleman.

"Mr. Lanier has been requested by the Secretary of the Treasury to look after the financial interests of this Government while in Europe, and he has kindly consented to do so.

"I commend him to your friendly attention and consideration, and bespeak for him such facilities as may contribute to the effective discharge of the duties confided to him.

"I am, gentlemen,

"Your very obedient servant,

(Signed) "WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

"Secretary of State."

NOTE.—Since the first edition of this book was exhausted, I have received the following letter from Mr. Sidney Lanier, of Macon, Georgia, which I think will be of interest in connection with the facts of my life. I have, therefore, caused it to be printed as an appendix to the second edition.

APPENDIX.

July 6, 1877.

MY DEAR SIR:

It has long been matter of common knowledge that ancestors transmit to their progeny those ingrained and radical peculiarities which constitute what might be called Family Individuality. The modern habit of scientific observation would seem to have established a much more extensive range of this process than had hitherto been suspected; and it may probably be considered fairly settled that not only the broader family traits are hereditarily transmissible, but that even the mental acquisitions of any individual parent do, to a certain extent, pass on to his children; so that if a man shall have made himself an expert in any particular branch of human activity, there will result the strong tendency that a peculiar aptitude towards the same branch will be found among some of his descendants.

The slight esteem, therefore, in which genealogical investigations are sometimes held can legitimately attach only to such as are pursued from unseemly motives of display. For, indeed, to the earnest man, the study of his ancestry must be regarded as the study of himself. Christian insight, no less than heathen wisdom, has sanctioned the ancient admonition, *Know thyself*; and if it be true that in order to know oneself one must know

one's ancestors, then the practice of genealogic research must be regarded as a duty, and with a peculiar propriety the Family Tree is inscribed in the Family Bible.

It is therefore with pleasure that I communicate to you such items of family history as have come to my notice, regretting only that a laborious life has never allowed me the opportunity which I desired of making some special research into these matters. Perhaps it will not be amiss to add here, for the behoof of any member of the family who may hereafter have leisure and means to pursue this subject, that without doubt many interesting reminiscences of the Laniers might be obtained by intelligent inquiry prosecuted in the South of France, and in England and Wales, according to the migrations of the family hereinafter set forth. I was once disposed to think that our forefathers had been singularly careless in failing to preserve more ample written records of our descent and history; but a somewhat closer acquaintance with the nomadic habits of the Laniers inclines me to attribute the paucity of our genealogical remains to other causes. The main secret of it appears to have been their continual movements from place to place during the last two hundred years. The original breaking up of the Huguenot Laniers in France, and their flight into England; then their removal to Virginia in the sturdy days of the old colonists, when it must have been of great importance to be encumbered with as little luggage as possible; and, finally, the dispersion of the family throughout the East, West, and South of the United States; have all been circumstances unfavorable to the preservation of family archives. Indeed, I think a certain intolerance of restraint, and a powerful tendency among younger members to break off from the parental stem as soon as possible, may be very distinctly traced as a prominent family characteristic among us. I know of Laniers now existing in New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida,

Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, and Indiana; and I do not recall a single instance where any considerable family have remained together continuously for a great while, but all appear to have early felt the hereditary tendency to leave the parental county or State and set up separate existences.

SIR JOHN LANIER.

Perhaps the first authentic mention of our name in history is that which records the part borne by Sir John Lanier at the battle of the Boyne, July 1 (12), 1690, where he commanded the Queen's regiment of horse. In Macaulay's "History of England" (page 494, Vol. III., Harper & Bros'. edition, New York, 1856) occurs the following paragraph, among others detailing the array of King William's army on that eventful morning: "Sir John Lanier, an officer who had acquired military experience on the Continent, and whose prudence was ~~held~~ in high esteem, was at the head of the Queen's regiment of horse, now the First Dragoon Guards."

It is not an improbable conjecture that this Sir John, instead of flying with our other Huguenot ancestors to England, may have chosen to seek his asylum in Holland, and may have there made the acquaintance of the great Dutch Prince who so valiantly defended the Protestant cause. However this may be, he appears to have been a brave and faithful officer; for within the next two years we find him rising to the rank of General, and perishing along with the gallant Mackay and Douglas at the battle of Steinkirk. This fact is recorded on page 226, Vol. IV., of Macaulay's "History of England" (edition above cited), where Lanier is mentioned as a General "distinguished among the conquerors of Ireland."

Macaulay does not cite the documents from which he obtained these particular items, further than to give the authorities for his

general history of the period. I have an impression, however, that somewhat minute regimental records have long been kept in the British Army: and it is very likely that many interesting details of the career of Sir John Lanier might be therein found.

It is a family tradition that he was one of our lineal ancestors. Indeed, putting together all the accounts which have ever come to me from many widely-scattered branches, I find that they all point in one direction, namely, to the existence of a single family of Laniers in the South of France, from whom all persons now bearing that name have descended: so that, in any given instance, I think the fact of the name alone may with perfect security be taken as evidence of kinship.

THOMAS LANIER.

(The materials from which the facts in the following statement have been gathered are: (1) a MS. work entitled "History of the Harris Family," which was kindly sent to me by my friend Iverson Lanier Harris, at that time one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Georgia, having been compiled by him from documents furnished to his kinsman Henry Clay Harris, of Kentucky, by Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of Virginia: (2) a work called "The Old Churches and Families of Virginia," by Bishop William Meade, of that State, a copy of which is, I believe, now in your possession: (3) The Family Tree, hereinafter set forth, which, in its present form, first came (I think) to my grandfather, Sterling Lanier, from the papers of the late George Washington Parke Custis, of Virginia: (4) traditions of the Harris and Lanier families.)

Some time between the years 1691 and 1716 a party of colonists, consisting of the Laniers, the Maxwells, the Mayhews, the Bondurants, the Howells, the Harrises, and others whose names

are frequently met with among the early families of Virginia, came to that colony from Great Britain, and settled upon a grant of land ten miles square which embraced the present site of the city of Richmond.

One of these Laniers appears to have been the Thomas Lanier hereinafter mentioned. The grant of land was made by William and Mary in 1691 to Henry Harris and John Jourdan, conveying to them a certain tract of Crown-lands lying along the James river, in the county of Powhatan, Virginia. The original of this grant was in the possession of Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of Virginia, in the year 1844. This Henry Harris (with whose family ours afterwards became intimately connected by intermarriage) belonged to an ancient house of Harrises whose seat was in Glamorgan, Wales. They were enthusiastic members of the "Welsh Baptist" Society; and during the fluctuating religious troubles of that period had been compelled to fly into France. Here they united with the Huguenots: and it is strongly probable that some acquaintance may have been formed at this time between the French Laniers and the Welsh Harrises, which afterwards led to their joint emigration to America.

For, on the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, the Welsh refugees in France had returned to Wales, where they lived until the Revocation of the Edict. After this event the Huguenot Laniers left their home in the South of France, and appear to have gone first to England or Wales. We find them emigrating thence soon afterward in company with the Harrises and others, as already mentioned, to America. Here they settled a town near the Falls of the James river, which was called Manakin town or Monacan town. This name (says Bishop Meade, page 466, Vol. I., of "Old Churches and Families of Virginia") "was derived from the Indian *Monacan*—the name of a warlike tribe of Indians whom the great King Powhatan in vain attempted to

subdue," and who "resided on James river from the Falls" (the present site of Richmond) "to Manakin."

Bishop Meade mentions the Laniers as early settlers in Manakin town, and refers to the mixture of French and Welsh elements in that colony.

It is therefore from Manakin town that our family derives its origin in the United States.

Both the Harrises and the Laniers now began to spread about the land. We find Thomas Lanier (according to the Family Tree hereinbefore mentioned) marrying Elizabeth Washington, the paternal aunt of George Washington. In this connection it will be of interest to remark that in the year 1747 Thomas Lanier obtained a grant of Crown-lands in Brunswick County, Virginia, as more fully appears by the following copy of the original instrument conveying the estate to him:

"George the Second, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, *etc.* To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting: Know ye that for divers good causes and considerations but more especially for and in consideration of the sum of forty shillings of good and lawful money for our use paid to our Receiver General of our revenues in this our Colony and Dominion of Virginia, we have given, granted and confirmed, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors do give, grant and confirm unto Thomas Lanier, one certain tract or parcel of land containing three hundred and eighty acres lying and being in the County of Brunswick on both sides of Mitchell's Creek, joining Shepard Lanier's line and his own, and bounded as followeth to wit: Beginning at Shepard Lanier's lower corner white oak on the creek, thence along his line south seventeen degrees west one hundred poles to a red oak on his line, thence along his line south seventy-one degrees east sixty poles to a red oak on the creek, thence down the said creek as it meanders to a white oak on the said creek, thence of (*sic*) north forty-three degrees east one hundred and eighteen poles to a white oak, thence north twenty-three degrees east one hundred and eighty-eight poles to his own corner sweet gum on a branch, thence north fourteen degrees west one hundred and sixty-six poles to a pine on William Hill's line, thence south seventy degrees west one hundred and sixty-six poles to Hill's corner dogwood

on a branch, thence down the said branch as it meanders to the mouth of the same, thence down Mitchell's Creek aforesaid as it meanders to the Beginning, With all wood, underwoods, swamps, marshes, low grounds, meadows, feedings, and his due share of all veins, mines and quarries as well discovered as undiscovered within the bounds aforesaid and being part of the said quantity of three hundred and eighty acres of land, and the rivers, waters and water-courses therein contained, together with the privileges of Hunting, Hawking, Fishing, Fowling, and all other profits, commodities and hereditaments whatsoever to the same or any part thereof belonging or in any wise appertaining: To Have, Hold, possess and enjoy the said tract or parcel of land and all other the before-granted premises and every part thereof with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said Thomas Lanier and to his heirs and assigns forever: to the only use and behoof of him said Thomas Lanier his heirs and assigns forever: To be held of us, our heirs and successors, as of our manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent in free and common socage and not *in capite* or by knight service, Yielding and paying unto us our heirs and successors for every fifty acres of land and so proportionately for a lesser or greater quantity than fifty acres the fee rent of one shilling yearly to be paid upon the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, and also cultivating and improving three acres part of every fifty of the tract above-mentioned within three years after the date of these presents. Provided always that if three years of the said fee rent shall at any time be in arrear and unpaid, or if the said Thomas Lanier his heirs or assigns do not within the space of three years next coming after the date of these presents cultivate and improve three acres part of every fifty of the tract above-mentioned, then the estate hereby granted shall cease and be utterly determined, and thereafter it shall and may be lawful to and for us, our heirs and successors to grant the same lands and premises with the appurtenances unto such other person or persons as we, our heirs and successors shall think fit: In Witness Whereof we have caused these our Letters Patent to be made. Witness our trusty and well-beloved Sir William Gooch Bar., our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of our said Colony and Dominion at Williamsburg under the seal of our said Colony the twelfth day of January one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven in the twenty-first year of our reign.

(Signed)

WILLIAM GOOCH.

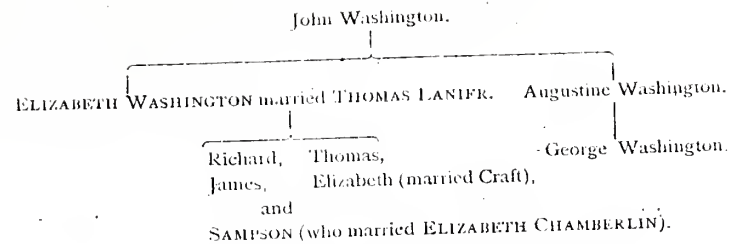
Information obtained from the Register of the Virginia Land

Office reveals that Thomas Lanier obtained other grants in addition to this: namely, a grant dated August 5, 1751, conveying to him 318 acres of land lying in Lunenburg County, Virginia; one dated March 3, 1760, conveying 400 acres in the same county; and one dated September 20, 1768, conveying 838 acres in the same county.

Besides these conveyances to Thomas Lanier, I find that two grants were issued to "Thomas Bird Lanier," one dated January 2, 1737, for 312 acres of land in Brunswick County, Virginia, and one dated January 12, 1747, for 374 acres in the same county. It seems probable that this Thomas Bird Lanier was a different person from Thomas Lanier: for I observe that two of the grants mentioned above were issued on the same day—January 12, 1747—and that one of them conveyed land to "Thomas Lanier," while the other conveyed to "Thomas Bird Lanier": which renders it extremely unlikely that these were names of the same individual, particularly as the instruments date from a time when legal-technicalities were much more rigorously observed than at present.

It is clear, however, from the deeds cited, that Thomas Lanier was a considerable land-owner in the counties of Brunswick and Lunenburg; and it is to these counties, together with the adjoining county of Rockingham in North Carolina (where my grandfather Sterling Lanier was born), that we may trace the original seat of our family after the initial settlement at Monacan town.

It is proper to subjoin also, at this point, the Family Tree, to which I have already referred. The following is a copy from the Tree furnished by G. W. P. Custis, Esq., with the single addition of the names of the three grandchildren of Winifred Lanier, two of which are taken from the Tree furnished by Mrs. Hallows, of Florida, and one—that of Mrs. Bryson—added upon information furnished by herself:



Children of Sampson Lanier and Elizabeth Chamberlin:

LEWIS Lanier, of Screven County, Georgia;

Buckner " ;

Burwell " ;

WINIFRED (who married Col. Drury Ledbetter, of Virginia, and was grandmother of Judge John C. Nicoll, of Savannah, Georgia, and of Mrs. Caroline M. S. Hallows, of Florida, and of Mrs. A. K. S. Bryson, of Kentucky ;

Nancy (who married Major Vaughn, of Roanoke, North Carolina) ;

Rebecca (who married Walton Harris, of Virginia ; she was grandmother of Judge Iverson L. Harris, of Georgia).

Rebecca Lanier—a granddaughter of Thomas Lanier—was united in marriage to Walton Harris, of Brunswick County, Virginia, a member of the original Harris family of Monacan town. This couple afterwards removed to North Carolina, where, according to the Harris History hereinbefore quoted, "they owned the great fishery at the narrows of the Yadkin River."

Rebecca was the daughter of "Sampson" Lanier. This has long been a family name, both in my own branch of the Lanier family and among the Harrises. My great-uncle Sampson Lanier recently died in Florida, and my father's given name is Robert Sampson.

It is in this same Rebecca Lanier's father, Sampson, that your lineage and mine come together. His two sons, Lewis and Buckner, were the heads of our respective families: Lewis of yours, and Buckner of mine. Lewis Lanier was your great-grandfather through your father Alexander Chalmers Lanier, and your grandfather James Lanier.

Winifred Lanier—a sister of your great-grandfather, Lewis—

married Col. Drury Ledbetter, of Virginia. In a letter from their granddaughter, Mrs. A. K. S. Bryson (your "Aunt Bryson"), which I have had the pleasure of perusing, I find the following paragraph: "He" (meaning Lewis Lanier) "married an interesting woman in N. C.; if I mistake not she was a Miss Ball. I think she was a sister of Gen. Geo. Washington's mother, as my grandmother called Mrs. W. aunt." I understand this to be in accordance with the traditions of your own immediate family upon the same subject.

From Lewis Lanier's sister, Winifred, have descended many interesting persons. She was born in North Carolina, where she and her husband appear to have lived until the close of the Revolutionary war, when they moved to Georgia, and thenceforth resided in that State. One of their daughters, Susan W. Ledbetter (the mother of Mrs. Bryson, to whom reference has been made), was born in North Carolina, in the year 1773. After she moved with her father to Georgia, she married Major Thomas Martin, of the United States Army, who was then in command of a fort called Point Peter, a few miles from St. Mary's, Georgia. The marriage, however, occurred in Wilkes County, Georgia. Major Martin was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, in the year 1751. In 1801 he left Georgia and took command of a fort near Norfolk, Virginia: but did not remain there long, for I find that after having been successively ordered to Pittsburg and to Detroit, he finally came, in the year 1804, to Newport Barracks, Kentucky, and assumed command at that place. Major Martin's manners were genial; his wife, Mrs. Susan W. Martin, is described as an accomplished lady, of fine presence, and endowed with many virtues; while their daughters were also estimable and charming women; so that their house soon became a rendezvous for the best society of that region, and appears to have been a point of great social attraction for a long time.

The following are the names of Major Martin's children :

Ann K. S. Bryson ;

Eliza W. Oldham ;

Susan L. Sandford ;

Mary F. Winston (whose daughter, Sabella Winston, married Gov. Stevenson, of Kentucky) ;

Louisa W. Prather ;

Harriet Joyce ;

Thomas Martin ;

James Martin.

It is to the remarkable memory of Mrs. Bryson—the last survivor of Major Martin's children, now residing at Covington, Kentucky—that most of the foregoing recitals concerning the Ledbetter family are due. Mrs. Bryson, now at the age of eighty-seven, retains all her faculties, writing long and intelligent letters, and giving names and dates with great precision.

Col. Ledbetter's daughter, Caroline Agüés, married Col. A. Y. Nicoll, of the United States Army. Their only daughter, Mrs. Caroline M. S. Hallowes, is now residing near Remington Park, Florida, a beautiful point nearly opposite the famous winter-resort known as Green Cove Springs, across the St. John's River which is here about seven miles wide. Mrs. Hallowes—a lady of great piety and cultivation, and the mother of an accomplished family—is the wife of Col. Hallowes, an English officer, who, after having served the Queen for several years in India, retired on half-pay and came to this country.

Drury Ledbetter and Winifred Lanier had twelve children. Of these, Nancy married a Scotch gentleman, James Gardiner ; and Mary married Francis Yates, son of the Spanish Consul at St. Augustine, Florida.

The following are the names of living heads of families who represent widely distinct branches of the Laniers, but all of whom derive their lineage from our common Huguenot stock

hereinbefore described. They will serve as useful clues to any member of the family who may hereafter desire to obtain some more complete account of it.

William L. Lanier, of Selma, Alabama, President of the Alabama Central Railway.

Sampson Lanier, of Greenville, Alabama.

Thomas Lanier, of Lake Griffin, Florida.

Joseph Lanier, of Quincy, Florida.

Lewis Lanier, of Fort Meade, Florida.

Robert Sampson Lanier (my father), of Macon, Georgia.

W. L. Lanier, of West Point, Georgia. (The town of Lanier, in Schley County, Georgia, owes its name to the Laniers who once lived in Screven County, and who are referred to in the Family Tree hereinbefore given.)

D. G. Lanier, of Flat Rock, South Carolina.

Lucius Lanier, of Baltimore, Maryland.

There are also distinct branches in Mississippi, Texas, Virginia, and North Carolina, the names of whose representatives I do not know. I am told that the Hon. Thomas Lanier Clingman, of the latter State, derives his lineage in part—as indicated by his name—from the Rockingham County ancestors to whom I have alluded.

The late Edmund Lanier, Commander in the United States Navy, was, I believe, the son of a Presbyterian clergyman living in Nashville, Tennessee, who is of a still different branch from any of those specified above.

There is also a group of Laniers in the island of Cuba. One family of this group attended the Centennial Exhibition last year, and I regret that I was unable to meet them. I remember to have heard you relate that you were once accosted by a young Cuban while on one of your voyages to Europe, who informed you that his mother's name was Lanier, and that she was a descendant of the Huguenot Laniers from the South of France.

Some of the branches above indicated by a single name consist of many members, who are spread over several Southern and Northern States.

It cannot be improper for me to close this sketch by adding that I have read with great interest and profit the account of your life which you were kind enough to send me, and that I sincerely wish you a long and peaceful enjoyment of the remarkable successes therein set forth.

Very truly yours,

SIDNEY LANIER.

J. F. D. LANIER, Esq., *New York City.*

John M Gresham

Biographical + Historical Souvenir

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majorities, and no member of that body, probably, was more attentive to the interests of the State he represented, or more industrious in arranging all the private or local business entrusted to him. He left no letter unanswered; no public office or document did he fail to visit or examine on request; with personal manners very engaging, he long retained his popularity."

"Governor Hendricks was of a family that occupies a front place in the history of Indiana. There is probably no other one in the State that has exerted so wide an influence upon its politics and legislation as his. His eldest son, John Abraham, was captain in the Mexican war, and a lieutenant-colonel in the war of the rebellion. He was killed in the battle of Pea Ridge, while in command of his regiment. Another son, Thomas, was killed in the late war, during Gen. Banks' campaign up Red river. A brother and a nephew sat in the State Senate, and another nephew, Hon. Thos. A. Hendricks, has received the highest honors his State could confer upon him."

Since the above was written, by Mr. Woollen, Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks was elected to the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and has gone to the grave. He was also United States Senator from Indiana, and Commissioner of Pensions.

JAMES F. D. LANIER was born

in the county of Beaufort in the State of North Carolina, November 22d, 1800. His father was Alexander Chalmers Lanier, and his mother's maiden name was Sarah Chalmers. His first paternal ancestor in this country was Thomas Lanier, a Huguenot of Bordeaux, France, who fled from the religious persecutions, about the middle of the seventeenth century, going first to England and afterwards to this country, and settling in North Carolina.

Soon after the birth of the subject of this sketch, his father removed to Bourbon county, Kentucky, and in 1807 he removed to Eaton, Ohio, where the childhood of Mr. Lanier was spent. In 1817 his father removed to Madison, Indiana, where he died in 1820, leaving a widow and one son.

Mr. Lanier's early education was of a limited character, both as to time and extent of studies. About eighteen months in Eaton at a common school, and in 1815-16, about a year and a half at an academy at Newport, Kentucky, and about the same length of time after he came to Madison, at a private school, comprises it.

At Eaton he was employed in a store of general character, and there got the foundation of his business education. In 1819 he commenced the study of law in the office of Alexander A. Meek, and finished his legal studies by a course at the Transylvania Law School in Kentucky, graduating in 1823. He commenced the practice of law in Madison, practicing in the

southeastern district of Indiana, which comprised a number of counties.

In 1824 he was appointed Associate Clerk of the House of Representatives of the State Legislature, and continued in that position till 1837, when he was made principal clerk of that body. His salary as clerk was \$3.50 per day. In 1833 he went into the Madison Branch of the State Bank, which was chartered in that year, and took a prominent share in the management of it. He was made Pension Agent for a portion of the Western States in 1837.

In 1849, he removed to New York City, for the purpose of engaging more largely in railroad operations, forming a copartnership with Mr. R. H. Winslow in the business of negotiation of railroad securities and a general banking business. He continued in this business in New York till his death in August, 1881.

In 1819, he was married to Miss Elizabeth Gardiner, of Kentucky, by whom he had eight children, of whom six are now living: Elizabeth G., Washington City, widow of Gen. Wm. M. Dunn; Drusilla D., wife of Judge John R. Cravens, Madison, Ind.; Alexander C., of Madison, Ind., the eldest; Margaret Pangelly, 'Morristown, N. J.; Mrs. Mary Stone, New York City, and Mr. Charles Lanier, of New York City.

He was married a second time in 1849 to Miss McClure, of Chambersburg, Pa., by which marriage he had one daughter, Katie, who is a widow

residing at Lennox, Mass., and one son who died young. His widow survives him and lives at Lennox.

CHRISTOPHER HARRISON was a man of strange habits and life. Born at the town of Cambridge, Dorchester Co., Maryland, of wealthy parentage, in the year 1775, he migrated to Indiana Territory in 1808. He led a solitary, secluded life for some years, avoiding all society, occupying himself entirely with hunting, and his books. Disappointment in a love affair was understood to have been the cause of his course of life at this time. He seems to have been attracted by the beauty of Fair Prospect Point, for we find him settled there probably as early as 1808. He remained there until about 1815, when he sold his land to George Logan. [See Logan's sketch before].

In the records of the Common Pleas Court of the date of Thursday, Oct. 22d, 1812, we find the following entry: "Gen. Christopher Harrison took the place of Williamson Dunn as Judge of the Common Pleas Court." A previous entry of the same court shows that General Christopher Harrison was acting as one of the grand jurors of the court. He seems to have given up the secluded life he had been living at this time, for we notice his name on the records of the court up to the time he sold out his land. He went to Salem from here in 1815, and engaged in keeping one of the frontier

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James F. D. Lanier

By GEORGE S. COTTMAN, Indianapolis.

The acquisition by the state of the old Lanier mansion at Madison has brought to the surface more or less fragmentary information regarding the man whose name is perpetuated by the place, and in whose honor it is to be preserved. That fact of itself makes seasonable a sketch of one who in his own right is entitled to a place in the gallery of Indiana's noteworthy men.

James F. D. Lanier, born in Washington, North Carolina, November 22, 1800, came with his father to Madison in 1817, when it was a mere village. The father was not a wealthy man. On the contrary, he failed in business, leaving debts which the son ultimately paid. Trained to thrift and industry, and gifted naturally with a fine business talent, the latter strikingly exemplified Horace Greeley's idea of "growing up" with a new country. He prospered with the thriving young town, and during the thirty-one years of his residence there he was an important factor in its business development. He began by studying law in the office of General Alexander A. Meek, graduated at the Transylvania law school in 1823, and took up the practice of that profession in Madison. The principles he cultivated are set forth by himself. In his brief autobiography, "printed for the use of his family only," and never given to the public, he says:

I was diligent, strove to be respected, and made it a point to be punctual in every duty and appointment. It was early my purpose of life to respect scrupulously the rights of others, but always to be firm in the assertion of my own. It was to the rigid adherence to this plan of life, if it may be so called, that I owed my success. My diligence and fidelity in every engagement gave me the command of whatever money I wanted, as it was well known that I would never allow my liabilities to exceed my means.

In a word, he was as a lawyer, as in subsequent vocations, a success, but the profession, involving as it did, riding the judicial circuit by horseback, was too much for his strength, and he gave it up as other more congenial business presented itself. For some years he was assistant clerk and then chief clerk of the Indiana House of Representatives. In this capacity he showed his characteristic habit of making the most of his position. Says the autobiography:

My duties required the greatest diligence and the closest attention. I soon became master of the rules and modes of conducting business, and was in this way enabled to be of service to members, many of whom, although men of sense and ability, often found themselves in positions of embarrassment from want of familiarity with legislative proceedings. My good offices were often availed of in the drawing up of motions and bills, and in guiding the conduct of members on the floor. I regard my office of clerk of the House as one of the chief causes of my future success. It enabled me to form an intimate acquaintance with all the leading men of the state, many of whom in after life were not slow to reciprocate the good office I had done them.

When the Indiana State Bank with its branches was chartered, in 1834, Mr. Lanier retired from law practice and became a banker, with which business he was identified for the rest of his life. By simple and economical habits, and by the investment of all his surplus in real estate that was continually rising in value he had acquired quite an income for those days in the West, and he now took a large amount of bank stock and became the first president of the Madison Branch Bank, being also a member of the Board of Control of the state system. These two positions he held for fourteen years, or during the rest of his stay in Madison, and again success was his meed. The institution with which he was connected stood a test that sent many another to the wall.

Mr. Lanier wrote:

The bank commenced business at one of the most critical periods of the history of the country—at the very beginning of that era of speculation which nearly bankrupted the whole nation, and which culminated in the terrible catastrophe of 1837. At this disastrous crisis nearly every bank in the western and southwestern states failed, with the exception of that of Indiana. A very large number of those of the eastern states were totally ruined. It would seem to have been almost impossible that the bank of Indiana, then one of the newest of the west-

ern states, should not have become involved in the general catastrophe. So far from being the case the bank not only paid dividends, averaging from twelve to fourteen per cent. annually, but returned to its stockholders nearly double the original investment when it was wound up at the expiration of its charter, in 1854.

An incident in connection with these precarious times adds a touch of color:

As we had always intended to keep our banks in position to meet any emergency that might arise we had not in the least anticipated the general suspension in 1837 in the eastern states till that event happened. Our board of control were then in session at Indianapolis. We were at the time the depository of \$1,500,000 of government funds. I was instructed by the board to proceed immediately to Washington to represent our condition and to confer with the Secretary of the Treasury as to what we, in the emergency, should do. I took with me \$80,000 in gold. I went up the Ohio river in a steamboat to Wheeling, and thence by stage, chartered for the purpose, alone across the mountains to Frederick, at that time the western terminus of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and sixty-one miles west from Baltimore. I suffered not a little anxiety on account of the treasure I carried more than three hundred miles through a wild and comparatively uninhabited region, and was not a little relieved on reaching the safe conduct of a railroad. On arriving at Washington I obtained an interview with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Honorable Levi Woodbury, explained to him the position and the entire solvency of our bank, and delivered to him the gold I had brought with me in part payment of our balances. He received me with great cordiality and said that our bank was the only one that had offered to pay any portion of its indebtedness in specie. We were allowed to retain the government deposits till they were drawn in its regular disbursements.

One evidence of Mr. Lanier's prosperity while still in Madison is that in the middle forties—or, to be exact, in 1844—he built himself a home there that was undoubtedly the finest family mansion in Indiana, and which visitors from Cincinnati and Louisville pronounced more imposing than anything in those cities. He enjoyed this residence but four years, for in the latter part of 1848 he left Madison and thenceforth made his home in New York.

The truth is that the Indiana of that day did not afford scope for his business capacity in the line he elected to follow. It was the dawning of a new era—the railroad era, that was to transform the business of the world. The railroad as a

factor in transportation was yet an experiment; there had been many losses and failures, but men of sagacity saw through the causes of these to vast possibilities. Lanier was one of these. He knew something at first hand about railroading, for he had, as he said, "been instrumental in the resuscitation of the Madison and Indianapolis railroad" after its failure under the mismanagement of an inefficient paternalism. But the logical base of operations for the great coming development was not the West, but New York City, the big financial center. Hence we find Lanier, on the first day of January, 1849, forming a copartnership with Richard H. Winslow, "the chief object of which was the negotiation of railway securities, although we [they] contemplated in connection therewith a general banking business."

There were then in the West about 600 miles of railroad, chiefly the remains of old state systems which had been sold to private companies. They were poorly built, some of them badly located, and were more or less failures, this general situation having, of course, a detrimental effect upon investors of capital. To Lanier's mind, however, there were reasons for believing that lines properly constructed upon good routes would be a success, and he began a vigorous propaganda to show that the time had come when railroad securities were a safe and profitable investment. It was evidently convincing propaganda, for business began to grow. Beginning with the bonds of the Madison and Indianapolis road, which were the first securities of the kind ever brought out in the Cleveland, Painsville and Ashtabula; Ohio and Pennsylvania; New York market, they followed with the Little Miami; Columbus and Xenia; Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati; Michigan and Southern, and other lines. The business so increased that, as Mr. Lanier says, "we not unfrequently negotiated a million of bonds daily, and the aggregate for the year was enormous." These were western roads and what this meant for the upbuilding of this section may easily be imagined. For the six years from 1849 to 1854, inclusive, the firm of Winslow, Lanier and Company specialized in railroad securities, and during that time 10,724 miles of road were built, nearly half of this mileage being in the middle West.

This aspect of Mr. Lanier's activities, however, is but incidental to the main purpose of this study, which is a consideration of his patriotic services to the State of Indiana and to the nation. Four such services, entitling him to public remembrance, I will present in the order of their occurrence. They were rendered modestly, inconspicuously, and history is virtually silent about them, even those relating to our Civil War having no official recognition in the reports of Adjutant-General Terrell covering that period. In reading the excerpts from the autobiography here given it must be borne in mind that they were originally addressed not to the public but to members of his own family.

1. In the later forties Indiana was in a bad way. People had gone crazy over the idea that they could get rich quickly by digging canals, building turnpikes and creating other internal improvements out of all proportion to the wealth of the country, and now it was a case of having to pay the fiddler. The state carried a debt, all told, of more than \$16,000,000, which amounted to a little over \$20 per capita, whereas the wealth per capita was only \$140. Something like \$11,000,000 of this debt had been borrowed abroad for the prosecution of the improvement system that had been authorized by the famous law of 1836. In 1845 the interest on this foreign capital, five years in arrears, amounted to \$3,000,000. The bonds were quoted on the market at forty cents on the dollar; the state was in danger of repudiation, and the creditors were correspondingly alarmed and clamorous. During the legislative sessions of 1845-6 and 1846-7 there was a long fight over the elaborate measure known as the Butler bill, which was finally passed. This was an attempt to relieve the acute situation by putting the whole foreign debt on a new basis. The proposition was to exchange the Wabash and Erie canal and certain lands attaching thereto for one-half of the outstanding bonds, while for the other half the state would issue new bonds. The creditor, by surrendering his old bonds, was to receive canal stock and state stock in equal parts. It was, of course, optional with the creditors to accept this plan, which was at best a compromise and, as it stood in the bill, so complicated as to be grasped

with some difficulty by people untrained in such matters. It was needful that a special agent be sent to Europe to confer with these creditors and secure from them, if possible, the surrender of the old bonds. As there is no mention whatever of this in the autobiography or in the scant matter available in the libraries, I can not do better than quote from an article written by a correspondent to the *Indianapolis Journal* of December 11, 1880, while the subject of the sketch was still living. The data seems to have been secured by a personal interview. The writer, over the signature of "E. T. J.", after making the above statement, says:

A mission of such delicacy and importance obviously required the services of a man of great intelligence and address. Mr. Lanier was the man selected, and the result proved the wisdom of the choice. The new securities, which consisted of certificates of state stock and certificates of ownership in the old canal, in equal proportions, were placed in his hands fully executed, but with dates, amounts and names of holders left blank, which blanks he was authorized to fill. The business of the mission was accomplished with such remarkable ability and success that in an incredibly short time he returned, having taken up nearly all of the old bonds, which he brought home and surrendered.

2. With the oncoming of the Civil War and the call upon Indiana for troops the state found itself in another predicament. On the receipt of the news that Fort Sumter had fallen Governor Morton telegraphed to President Lincoln offering ten thousand men for the defense of the nation. The raising of those ten thousand was easy enough, but equipping them for the field was another thing. The state was heavily in debt with no money in the treasury and apparently no way to get any, its credit being so bad no one would buy its bonds. A less resolute and less resourceful man than Morton would have been swamped at the outset, but he only proceeded to make good his patriotic offer. In the universal turmoil of the nation money was hard to get, even where credit was good, and in the emergency Morton turned to Lanier, who advanced funds to the amount of \$400,000.¹ It was due to this loan that

¹ The fact should be noted that there were other capitalist patriots whose friendliness to Morton and the Union cause prompted loans at the risk of loss. Among these are said to have been Stoughton A. and Calvin Fletcher of Indianapolis, though their services were done so quietly that only a fugitive tradition of them exists.

General T. A. Morris' brigade, when it marched through Cincinnati on its way to the front at the very beginning of the first campaign excited this editorial comment in the Cincinnati Commercial:

The governor of Indiana has outgeneraled the governor of Ohio. The former has sent four admirably-equipped regiments to the battlefield and has two more ready to march at an hour's notice. * * * The Hoosier troops are all armed with rifled muskets, are uniformed, and furnished with their complement of camp equipments.

Of the two other regiments, a few days later, the same paper said: "They were armed with the new United States muskets, of the most approved pattern. No Ohio troops have such arms."

3. The early part of 1863 was a dark period for Indiana. Aside from the general turmoil of the war it was a seething cauldron internally. A predominating copperhead element in the legislature did all in its power to frustrate the Union cause and to cripple Morton's efforts in behalf of that cause. Morton himself, so his enemies said, was a past-master at the art of enforcing his will by high-handed methods, but he at least had a high motive for which history has justified him. The obstructionists, however, cared nothing for his motives, and their hatred of the man in power bred the kind of "dirty politics" which is all too common in our political history. Not the least of the sins of this legislature was the deliberate failure to make any appropriations for the necessary expenses of the state. Indiana's part in the war might become a disgrace; her insane and blind and other dependents might be turned out of the institutions for want of money to care for them; she might utterly ruin her credit by defaulting in the interest due to creditors—all that was a secondary consideration. The first consideration was the personal hatreds and venom with which the air reeked.

In spite of all this, however, Morton saved the situation. From various sources he gathered up enough to take care of military and current expenses, and to meet the interest on the state's debt he again appealed to Lanier for a loan. It was at best, from a business point of view, a risky loan. As the autobiography says:

The application was made at the darkest period of the whole war. I could have no security whatever, and could rely for reimbursement only on the good faith of a legislature to be chosen at a future and distant day, and upon the chances of its being made up of more upright and patriotic members than those composing the one then in existence. If the great contest should turn out disastrously to the cause of the Union and of freedom I could never expect to be repaid a dollar. I felt, however, that on no account must the debt of a great state be discredited, nor the position of its chief magistrate, the ablest and most efficient of all the loyal governors, and who of all contributed most to our success, be compromised or weakened. No alternative was left me but to advance the sum required. I would not allow myself to be responsible for the consequences of a refusal of his request. If the credit of the state in such a critical period should be destroyed, that of other states, and even the federal government might be so impaired as to render it impossible for them to sustain the immense burdens of the war. I accordingly addressed a note to the agent of the state for the payment of the interest, offering to pay that falling due July 1st, 1863, and requesting him to supply me with a list of the holders of the state stocks. He peremptorily refused to furnish such list, being himself one of the conspirators in destroying the state's credit.² A list had to be procured from other sources of information. As soon as this was obtained I commenced the payment of interest, which was thereafter promptly paid by me on the days it fell due. These payments were continued two years. The whole amount advanced by me on this account was \$640,000.

In this the obstructionists found something to cavil at. Winslow, Lanier and Company had selfish ulterior aims, and the Indianapolis *Sentinel* suggested that "as a proper reproof to such audacious impertience a prompt refusal ought to be given to the recognition of any part of this debt, so as to let Governor Morton and Winslow, Lanier and Co. know that it is better that they attend to their own business and let that of others alone." On the other hand many shared the view that Lanier's action had averted a disgrace to the state which all citizens must have shared, and the legislature of 1864 made provision for the repayment of the money loaned.

4. The next call upon Mr. Lanier for patriotic service was in the interest of the general government, and here again I quote the *Journal* correspondent. He says:

²This correspondence in full may be found in William Dudley Foulk's *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, Vol. 1, pp. 263-6.

The national debt incurred by the war was nearly \$3,000,000,000. The whole debt except \$559,000,000 of greenbacks, bore interest at a high rate, more than one half of which was payable in gold, upon which the premium was so high that practically the rate was more than doubled. About nine-tenths of the whole debt was held by our own people, and only about one-tenth was held abroad. In Europe money was plenty and interest cheap. It was obvious that if foreign capitalists could be induced to take our bonds the interest on our debt could be reduced and our national burden materially lightened. But in Europe there was a vast amount of erroneous opinion and but little correct information on the subject of American finances, so that in order to excite a demand for our securities it was first necessary that those who controlled the foreign money markets should be correctly informed concerning our financial condition and apprised both of our immense resources and of the overwhelming national determination that our debt should be paid. For the accomplishment of this purpose no method could be more effective than to send a special agent of the proper experience, knowledge and ability to visit and confer personally with the leading European capitalists.

To shorten the story, Mr. Lanier was the one chosen for this mission, which he carried out with his usual competency. At Frankfort-on-the-Main he delivered before a large meeting of capitalists and bankers an address that was published in several languages and widely circulated throughout Europe. The result of his work there was so favorable that upon his return home, in the fall of 1865, "he received not only the thanks of the government but the most gratifying acknowledgment through the loyal press of the great estimation in which his services were held."

Mr. Lanier always, to use his own words, "cherished a lively affection" for Indiana. As long as he lived he retained the title to the fine old home he had built at Madison, although his son, A. C. Lanier, lived there and was its virtual possessor. Ultimately another son, Charles Lanier, presented the property as a home for the county historical society as an abiding memorial to his father, and this society in turn transferred it to the keeping of the state to be preserved both as a memorial and as the most imposing existing relic of a picturesque period in our history.

J. F. D. Lanier died in New York City, August 29, 1881, and is buried in Greenwood cemetery.

Architecture, Men, Women and Money

in America 1600-1860



Roger G. Kennedy

CHAPTER 28

Solid Citizens in Indiana

THE OHIO is a respectable river. It is not spectacular, nor romantic in the way of the Hudson. It does not dash itself against Palisades; on its banks are no abrupt little mountains to store up legends and cascading kills, nor broad granite shoulders to be given white-framed hotels, like epaulets. The Ohio never supported a class of patroons, as did the Hudson, nor did it ever welcome whalers home. The Ohio was not like the St. Croix or the Mississippi, a lumber river of importance: it saw no rafts to match theirs, acres-wide, sent to build great cities.

The Ohio is a workaday river, a convenience river, the sort of stream one is tempted to take for granted. One cannot imagine Cleopatra lounging with Antony between Gallipolis, Ohio, and Cairo, Illinois, as one might imagine them at ease upon the swell of the Mississippi. On the Ohio they would be too much hooted at by tows* adjusting processions of barges. Barges not of Cleopatra's kind. Nor of Palladio's. The Ohio fills its barges not with queens or architects, not with heroes or persons of genius, but instead with pork and salt and sulfur, steel and coal and petroleum. It is a broad river, which can be accommodating because it is relatively free from rapids. When an automobile comes to the top of one of its bluffs, and begins a descent toward the riverbank, the pace naturally slackens, perhaps in sympathy with the stately progress of the vessels that pass across the windshield, so to speak, in their own insistent lassitude.

This deliberate river marked the northern boundary of the mid-Atlantic empire. The slave-driven, single-staple plantation system exhausted itself along the Ohio. And in the 1840's the little river ports on its northern shore were the setting

** I am instructed by my colleague John White that freshwater tugs are called tows, though they do as much shoving as pulling.*

of a change in the life of that river valley, which ordained a much larger change in the life of the American nation.

The Old Southern Ohio

*Solid Citizens
in Indiana*

THE OHIO HAD BEEN a southern river in every sense. Latitude and temperature were confirmed by economics. Cairo, Illinois, is farther south than Richmond, Virginia. There is no point in the state of Delaware that is as far south as the town of Chesapeake in the state of Ohio. Anyone who has spent much time in Indiana can confirm by the sweat of his brow what the statistics tell us: it is considerably hotter there in the summer than it is on Barbados. Relative altitude also pointed the Ohio southward: its waters run downhill to the Gulf.

Until iron and the steam engine altered things, the compass needle in America's great central valley pointed firmly north and south. Then, with the coming of the railroad, the horizontal tug of iron rails became stronger and stronger, and swung the compass by ninety degrees.

At first the hiss of steam power had been a cheerful sound for the South. It was the sound made by the engines of riverboats. In 1811 the first steamboat appeared in New Orleans and set upon the Crescent City even more securely the crown of the Mississippi Valley. Nicholas Roosevelt and his wife (the daughter of Benjamin Henry Latrobe) had been right in naming the first steam-driven boat on the river after New Orleans. It was a crude vessel, but improvements in design after 1820 brought the average transportation cost of goods pushed upstream from New Orleans down from five dollars to twenty-five cents. The effects of steam technology were less dramatic when running with the current; downstream costs had only to come down from a dollar.

Boats may push against the current, but they do not make their own channels. Even steamboats must accommodate the landscape. The railroad defies it. Railroads bridge rivers, tunnel through mountains, flatten hills, embank their way across valleys.

The builders of the Erie Canal had altered the land about as much as boating people could, but they only showed the way to the railroads' invasion of the West. In the ceremony opening the canal, the catechist had asked by what means had the "waters of the Great Lakes . . . been diverted from their natural course?" And by whose authority? The answer, then, was by "the enterprise of the people of the State of New York." Soon it was not only the waters of the Great Lakes but the natural profusion of the whole interior region that was diverted from natural courses. In 1851 J. D. B. De Bow of New Orleans wrote that the railroads had "rolled back the mighty tide of the Mississippi and its ten thousand tributary streams until their mouth, practically and commercially, is more at New York and Boston than at New Orleans."

What did this change mean for the political and social outlook of the Ohio Valley, especially for its stance toward slavery and disunion? Picture books about

the young Lincoln have left us images of yeoman emigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee and the seaboard states that fed population through the central gaps of the Appalachians. But free and independent uplanders were not the only southerners to join the western emigration. Slaveowners came too. We recall how narrowly Edward Coles and his Quaker allies beat back a majority of the Illinois legislature intent on bringing another slave state into the Union. We have observed the enormous investments, and consequent power, of landowners from the South in the northwest territories. Not all of them were as cool to slavery as Easley, Willingham and the Natchez Junto.

Until the coming of the railroad, the Ohio Valley was still very much as Edward Coles found it, and left it, an offshoot of the slave system. The same proslavery, prosouthern majority that drove Coles from Illinois dominated the Indiana legislature in 1860. It took the power of a great governor, backed by a resourceful financier, to defy them and keep Indiana within Lincoln's Union.

Frederick Jackson Turner totted up the origins of the members of the Ohio legislature of 1822. Only 25 percent were from New England; 38 percent were from the Deep South. As late as 1850, after a substantial northern influx, only 11,000 of the roughly one million people in Indiana were natives of New England against 175,000 natives of the South. In Illinois 140,000 were from the South and only 37,000 from New England. Missouri was a slave state in 1860, many of whose slaveowners traveled widely in Iowa, the legislature of which was also probably still dominated by southerners as late as 1850. There were important enclaves of southern sympathy in the mining areas of southwestern Wisconsin and northwestern Illinois.

The struggle for dominance of the region was not fought out at these extremes. If it had been, the outcome would have been otherwise, for the northern immigrants were heavily outweighed at most vital points. It was the less predictable sympathies of the emigrants from New York, New Jersey and especially Pennsylvania that would determine where the West would rally. But those sympathies were solicited by an increasing number of neighbors who had no doubts whatever about their desire to live in a region unburdened with either the moral odium of slavery or the economic threat of competition from hardworking blacks. An aversion to both is clear from the political discourse of leaders of the northern cause, including Abraham Lincoln.

It was the railroad that brought the great flood of northern immigration into the Ohio Valley Empire in the 1850's—in the nick of time.

Railroad versus River

THE RAILROAD WENT westward in parallel to the Ohio. Then its progress was interrupted by the Mother of Waters. If it had been stopped there, the north-

south axis of easy water transportation could have remained at least of equal potency to the east-west axis established by the rails.

New Orleans thus had a stake in permitting the mighty Mississippi to roll to the sea "unvexed" by railroad bridges. So had St. Louis. The Chamber of Commerce of that city, which presided over the junction of the Missouri and the Mississippi, saw the railroad reach the Mississippi, and most of its members wished to stop it there. Some railroad promoters were already active in the city, but a majority of the Chamber endorsed a resolution that any bridge over the river would be "unconstitutional, an obstruction to navigation, dangerous." They proclaimed "the duty of every western state, river city, and town to take immediate action to prevent the erection of such a structure."

The steamboaters did more than issue proclamations. A series of rivercraft had altercations with the piers of the first such bridge, near Rock Island. The ensuing lawsuits gave Abraham Lincoln, for the railroad company, the chance to remind the courtroom that east-west travel "has its rights as well as that of north and south."

The bridge at Rock Island stayed in place, and on a fine spring day in 1856, thirty-one years after the opening of the Erie Canal, cheers echoed from the banks of the Mississippi after the porter's call: "Passengers for Iowa keep their seats!" As journalist-historian Marquis Childs tells the story, when the last car of the first train to cross the Rock Island Bridge had reached the Iowa shore, "a mighty shout went up. 'We're over, we're over!' and Chicago said 'Yes, the Mississippi is practically no more.'"

Chicago spoke too soon. The rivers, chief among them the Mississippi, had not yet conceded defeat to the railroads. The contest between the two for mastery of the great valley of America was fought out in many places, including the drawing rooms of two houses, designed by the same architect, composed of the same materials and in the same style, on the river side of First Street in Madison, Indiana.

A Passionless Repose

THESE TWO HOUSES represent, in their grand way, a fairly common type along the river. They are descendants of those Middle Colony buildings we called "Wrenaissance" in Chapter Seven. In the border states along the Ohio River, as in Maryland, Virginia or New Jersey, they were often built of brick. As one runs one's eye across the northern architectural landscape, from Nantucket to Oregon, one sees white wooden cubes laid out like rows of dice, with openings in the place of five-spots. They are the northern wooden version of the brick cubes we see in Madison, and across the Middle Colonies and the Ohio Valley. Both are direct descendants of the Georgian, given an injection of elegance by Benjamin Henry

*Solid Citizens
in Indiana*

PIVOT POINT



Shrewsbury House

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Lanier House

Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society



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Latrobe in the 1790's (as we noted in the last chapter) and in the 1830's and 1840's made Grecian by the addition of thick bands of wood just below the roof, and sometimes porticoes. They were then called Greek Revival, though more often than not they had most un-Hellenic hipped roofs and cupolas.*

This was Ohio Valley Hellenism, which, as it spread northward and up the smaller tributaries of the Ohio itself, fused into the Arlington-Bowers model we have discussed. The lineage of the cubical style, of course, goes back to the severe Renaissance buildings in Pienza, Siena and Florence—see Chapter Eight. Francis Costigan, architect of Madison, Indiana, drew upon the experience of Leon Battista Alberti and Bernardo Rossellino, by way of Pieter Post in Holland, and Inigo Jones and Hugh May in England, as well as those provincial designers who chose to wrap themselves in the "style of Christopher Wren."

If this recital seems a little pedantic, it would not have seemed so to many of the Americans who wanted very much to think of themselves as the heirs of the Renaissance, and built accordingly. The genealogy of their architecture was almost as important to them, in the middle of the nineteenth century, as their own genealogy. They eagerly purchased designs for the structures the popular pattern-books informed them to be of ancient respectability. Some of them purchased family portraits at the same time.

From the region of the Chesapeake and the Delaware, the cubical style was carried westward by emigrants into the central states and reappeared along the Ohio. One can see our two splendid examples by walking down High Street (now prosaically renamed First Street) in Madison, parallel to Main Street. Down along the river, a block away, once stood docks and warehouses. A few blocks farther were lumber mills and slaughterhouses. They are gone now, but this was once a very busy scene. Madison was the largest town in the state for most of the 1840's.

As you walk west, crossing Poplar Street, the mansion of Captain Charles Lewis Shrewsbury appears on the left. Just past Elm Street, a block farther on, is the residence of James F. D. Lanier.

These houses were built to present qualities of great value in a raw, rough, uncertain and changeful time and place. This was not yet a place ready for the competing Picturesque, with its changefulness and engaging unpredictability, which we will be examining in Chapter Thirty. Men devoted to that style, like the architect Calvert Vaux, working in distant New York, did not think the Classical style accorded very well with "this locomotive age," but he did not understand. It was precisely what he called the "passionless repose" of the Classic, especially in its solid, cubical Philadelphia form, that commended it to men in frontier villages like Madison, men like Shrewsbury and Lanier. Here was another kind of looking

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* The brick boxes of the Middle Colonies were composed into an art form first by Latrobe. (A surviving example of his work in this manner is the Decatur House on Lafayette Park, in Washington, D.C.) His example, as we have seen, was followed in hundreds of handsome instances in Baltimore and Philadelphia. It appeared occasionally in New England where the band of Bulfinch, emulating Latrobe, was powerful enough to influence even the Yankees to build in brick.

back—but unlike either the exhausted fashions of the central states or the unconvincing antiquarianism of the twentieth century, here, along the Ohio, fundamentally familiar basic forms prevailed, around which clients encouraged a few inventions by their builders. We will see some examples of this invention in a moment.

Perhaps a certain loftiness was the basis for that repose, a well-earned capability for looking back, and down, on the places where the broiling and milling and sweating were done. The cupola on the roof of Lanier's house, visible from the river, holds an observatory twelve feet high and twelve feet in diameter. On that side, as well, is a grand portico, which is embellished like the cupola with vigorous Greek Revival ornament, freely developed from the pattern-books of Minard Lafever. The landward side of the house is more restrained, more in keeping with passionless repose. It implies the portico, subtly, with four brick pilasters, and it wears wrought iron like a winsome ribbon at the throat.

The Steadiest of American Types

THESE WERE THE HOUSES of solid citizens. At least, that is what those citizens wanted them to seem to be. The brick cube was very popular among that class of persons to whom a good, respectable appearance was essential to their gaining credit (literally and figuratively) from their fellow citizens. When one thinks of these houses, or of their clients, one is reminded of what Henry Adams said of the burghers of Philadelphia: "The . . . mind is not complex; it reasoned little and never talked; but in practical matters it was the steadiest of all American types; perhaps the most efficient; certainly the safest." Steady. Safe. Efficient. That was what one wanted to be perceived to be, especially if one needed to borrow a great deal of money. An impressive, reassuring façade was as important in Indiana in the nineteenth century as in Virginia or South Carolina in the eighteenth (see Chapter Eight).

Behind their similar façades were quite different men, but neither lived so steadily, so safely as their domiciles implied. Shrewsbury was a river man; Lanier a railroad man. Both were playing for high stakes. Sometimes they played against each other. Shrewsbury was a Confederate sympathizer; Lanier personally financed Indiana's adherence to the Union. Shrewsbury was the tough product of the Kanawha salt mines, and prospered while he and his numerous relatives provided the cohesion to assemble a series of "Associations," primitive trusts that held back production and held up prices from the late 1830's to the early 1850's. Lanier was the proud child of improvident Tidewater aristocrats; he rode back to respectability with the railroad. The railroad brought prices down; it opened the region to sources of salt outside western Virginia, it diverted the livestock and grain products of the Ohio Valley from the river system of the South toward the East. For Shrewsbury the metropolis was New Orleans, for Lanier it was New York.



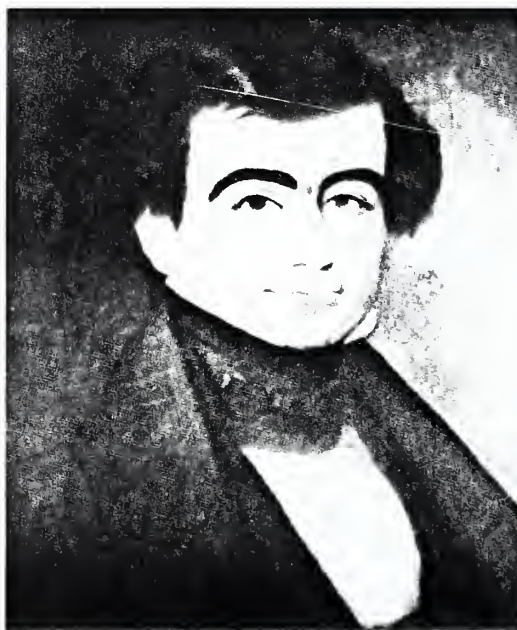
Lanier House from the river

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J. F. D. Lanier

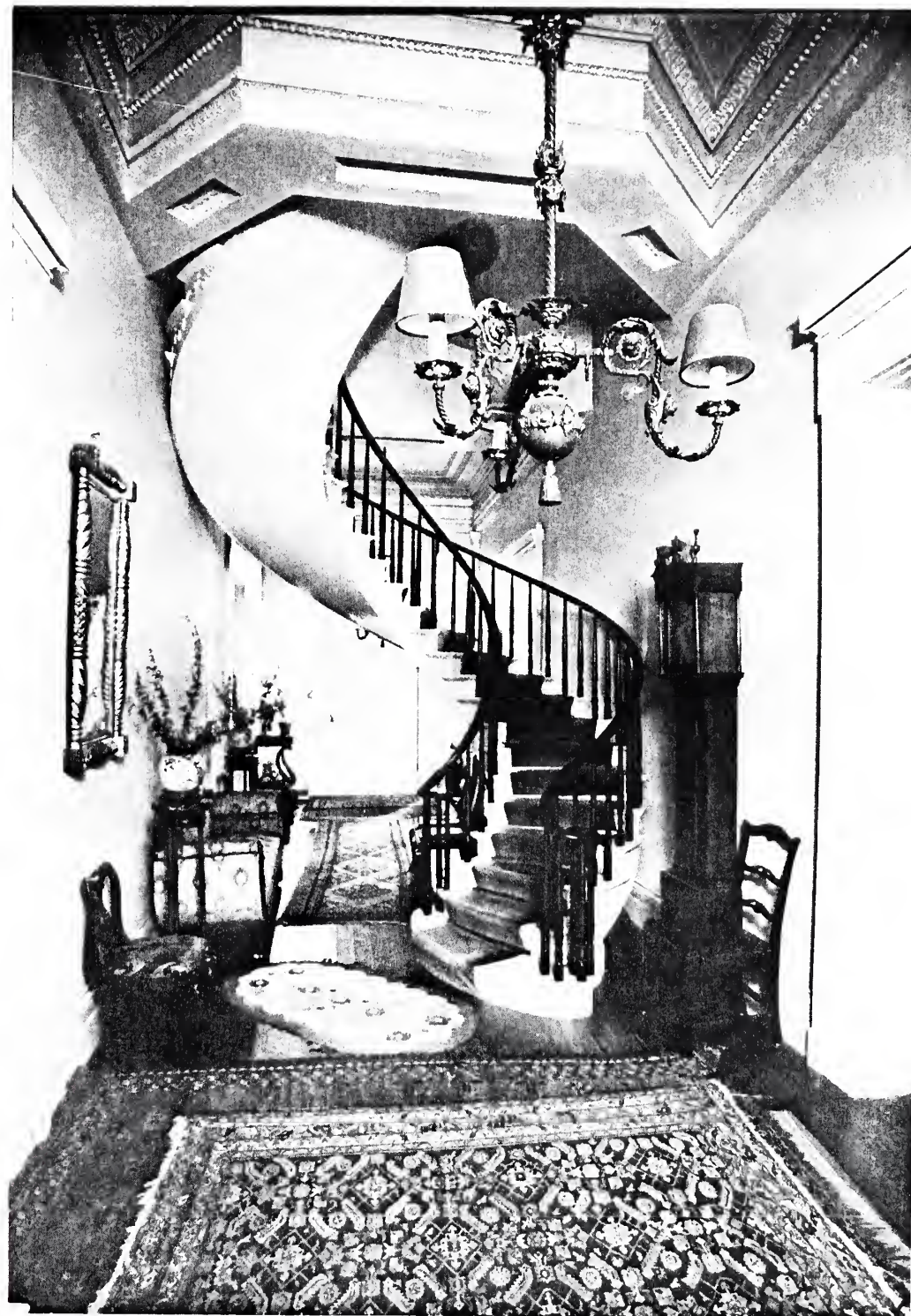
Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society



Charles Shrewsbury

Courtesy of Historic Madison, Inc.

PIVOT POINT



Stairway and hall
in the Shrewsbury
House

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Shrewsbury grew old and bitter in an Age of Steam and Steel. J. F. D. Lanier became its first important financier, the forerunner of the great Pierpont Morgan.

Lanier's house was under construction in 1843 and 1844, the years in which Charles Shrewsbury heeded his father-in-law's importunings to move the headquarters of C. L. Shrewsbury and Company from Kanawha to Madison. It appears that John Woodburn, the father of Shrewsbury's wife, Ellen, had been trading with Louisville and New Orleans since he came to Indiana in 1818, while most of the state was still Indian territory. Woodburn kept building his steamboat business, while Shrewsbury and his brothers organized a series of oligopolies to control the production and pricing of western Virginia salt; the first brought thirty-five producers together under the umbrella of William Shrewsbury and Company as early as 1836. After Charles moved to Madison, Woodburn seems to have transferred control of his shipping operations to his sons-in-law and followed the pull of the South to become a planter in Mississippi in 1852.

Shrewsbury, looking down the street at Lanier's handsome new house, was by 1846 or 1847 rich enough to match it. Actually, what Shrewsbury apparently had in mind was not just matching but overmatching—doing what Lanier had done, but just a little better. The parlor of the Shrewsbury house has a ceiling height of sixteen feet; Lanier's was thirteen. The room itself is forty feet long; Lanier's was thirty. Lanier's circular staircase is tucked, demurely, into a wall; Shrewsbury's stands free, its hands on its hips, in the middle of the hallway. The ornament of Lanier's drawing room is restrained; Shrewsbury's is as rich, I think, as that of any other surviving house in America of the Greek Revival style, except Stanton Hall in Natchez. Francis Costigan gave both Lanier and Shrewsbury designs up to the ambitions of any Baltimore or Philadelphia merchant. For Shrewsbury he added the kind of Lafeverish ornament that was favored by the cotton nabobs of the upland South. They were, after all, Shrewsbury's customers, and in later military matters, his allies.

By 1850 the differences between Lanier and Shrewsbury were becoming clear, differences having to do with the contest between river and railroad, between North and South, and these two citizens of Madison grew apart. But they had established their wealth in a perfect symbiosis of their talents. Shrewsbury had supplied the salt and Lanier financed the ham on the hoof which had made Madison, during their youth, a close competitor to Cincinnati as chief supplier of pork products to the ravenous plantations of the South.

*Solid Citizens
in Indiana*

Salt Pork, Railroads and War

REPEATEDLY IN AMERICAN HISTORY the livestock and mining frontiers have preceded the agricultural frontier. We are prone to forget the origins of the name "Cowpens" in South Carolina, and to regard the mining of bog iron by seventeenth-century Virginia planters as *infra dig*. We do not often look at the flat contours of our present cornbelt and recall that, economically, the Midwest once had many of the characteristics of the Rocky Mountain West. Its chief attraction for the first western railroads was not its farmland but the lead mines around Galena, Illinois, and then the copper mines of upper Michigan. Daniel Drew, the pious fraud who later waxed so rich in railroads, learned his methods as the proprietor of the Bull's Head Tavern, a drovers' rendezvous on the Long Trail from the Scioto Valley of Ohio to New York. Corn, the first and most reliable crop of the pioneers of Indiana and Illinois, was fed to hogs, and hundreds of thousands of hogs were driven down their own "Long Trail," from Indiana through the Saluda Gap to feed the South. Others were floated to market. Abraham Lincoln knew the importance of river navigation firsthand because his father raised hogs, and those hogs which could not be walked to market were carried there in boats after they were turned into pork. The future President was a renowned hog-slaughterer. He was so good at that bloody work that he gained the right to accompany barge-loads of salt-cured pork from southern Indiana to New Orleans, where he learned important lessons about slavery.

Lincoln did not need to go far from home, however, to encounter the intermediaries between his southern customers and his hog-raising neighbors. Hogs prowled the woods, and drovers prowled after them. When a herd was found, agents for southern plantations bought them with notes drawn on banks; the first local bankers were those who were willing to advance cash against these notes.

(Thomas Lincoln, Abraham's father, sold more than one hundred hogs this way in 1830.)

This pattern of hog financing had interesting political consequences. Bankers tended to be Whigs. The routes taken by the drovers mapped out not only the lines of later turnpikes and railroads but also the ganglia of Whig power; voting patterns and livestock patterns, then and now, have much in common.

Among the Whigs of Indiana and Illinois were two young men who earned enough by storekeeping and hog-slaughtering to sustain their studies in the law. Abraham Lincoln turned from the law to politics and gained the presidency. James Lanier turned from the law back toward the hog business (but at a high, abstract financial level) and became so proficient that he, as much as the more celebrated Jay Cooke, financed the success of the Lincoln presidency.

In the 1840's Lanier's home town, Madison, Indiana, sustained four large packing plants, one of which slaughtered 43,000 hogs in one year. Hogs were important in Madison; Henry Ward Beecher, it is said, was once so fully engaged in theological discourse with the town's leading matron (probably Mrs. James Lanier) that it was only at the vestibule of the church that he noted she had been followed there by a family of pet pigs. It was on the occasion of that visit that he stood at the Grecian door on the river side of Lanier's house, looked out upon the violets "that begemmed the terrace" and "impulsively expressed the desire to lie down and roll among the darlings of the spring." (Anyone who has seen a pig among violets knows how tempting is its example.)

The doorway and the violets owed much to pigs. By 1847 James Lanier lived in his solid, respectable house as the master of the inland triangular trade. He had learned how to buy, at a discount, the hog paper given local bankers by drovers. Then he would travel to its place of issuance, New Orleans, redeem it in full at maturity, buy cotton paper at a discount from the always capital-short New Orleans bankers, present it for payment in full at maturity at its place of issue, New York, and with the proceeds, return to Indiana to start over again. We know how he went about this, because he enjoyed describing it after he had progressed in the next decade to financing a million dollars a day in railroad bonds and negotiating for his country's credit with the Rothschilds.

He recalled, as well, in his remarkable memoirs that buying hog paper did not require as much cash as reputation. James Lanier could not always give cash. Sometimes all he had to give were his own notes. Let us see how the son of a bankrupt gentleman-storekeeper came to have the cash and the credit.

James F. D. Lanier

WE SAW THEM FIRST in Chapter Twenty-one, that "sallow planter and his lady" at the "rear of a long cavalcade" of pioneers going west, away from exhausted soils and exhausted hopes. They had "bidden adieu to the scenes of their youth and

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undertaken the long and painful pilgrimage through the wilderness." For some, like Jefferson's nephews, the pilgrimage ended in murder and suicide. Others, like General Nathan Whitfield of Gaineswood (see Chapter Sixteen), lived to see family portraits taken down from the pegs driven into log walls and rehung from the freshly painted cornices of a mansion.*

The experience of James Lanier was something like Whitfield's, but he started lower and rose higher. His boyhood experience was full of shame. When he became a man, and very rich, he was at pains to recall the early history of his family in America, before the "long and painful pilgrimage." The elderly George Washington Parke Custis had assured him that the Laniers and the Washingtons were in several ways related. He was proud to tell of his own achievements, to redeem the intervening dark.

Lanier said of himself, "I strove to be respected." He had a first name, James, but he seldom encouraged its use after he was free of the summons that had called him, at the age of ten or twelve, from the storeroom of the dry-goods store where he learned "how to be respectful and obliging to all." His boyhood was spent in one forced move after another, in the train of a grandfather whose pretensions to the status of "planter" went unfulfilled, and of an improvident father. His father lost what remained of their inheritance, tried shopkeeping and died bankrupt.

J. F. D. Lanier grew up to keep his pride quiet, to take only measured risks and always to calculate the consequences of action on reputation. He had bitter memories of pretension, improvidence and defeat. "I was diligent, . . . and made it a point to be punctual in every duty and appointment." In that way the world would know that he was not the sort of man to follow his father into bankruptcy. "It was my purpose in life to respect scrupulously the rights of others, but always to be firm in the assertion of my own." Respect was not the reward of the soft or the changeable; to earn it one required "rigid adherence" to a "plan of life," watchfulness and "fidelity in every engagement."

George Washington died in 1799, with the old century and the old way of life. James F. D. Lanier was born in the next year. His grandfather had fought in William Washington's cavalry during the Revolutionary War and joined the westering of the 1780's. He first tried Nashville, where he shared quarters with Andrew Jackson. Nashville did not work out, and he removed to Bourbon County, Kentucky, where his son and grandson joined him. Bourbon County did not work out either. The grandfather resolved to try Pendleton County. The father lost what was left of the property he had brought west in one of those shadowy title suits in which Jackson lost his second fortune. His son learned a lesson; Jackson the lawyer had survived Jackson the speculator.

After Bourbon County, the familiar story began again. The children were packed into wagons with a slave or two (probably those too old to be readily sold),

* *The standard of living of westerners nearly always dropped below whatever it had been in the East, and often stayed low for many years before it rose again. The hope, and the general experience, was that it would rise much higher, if not in the first generation, then in the next.*

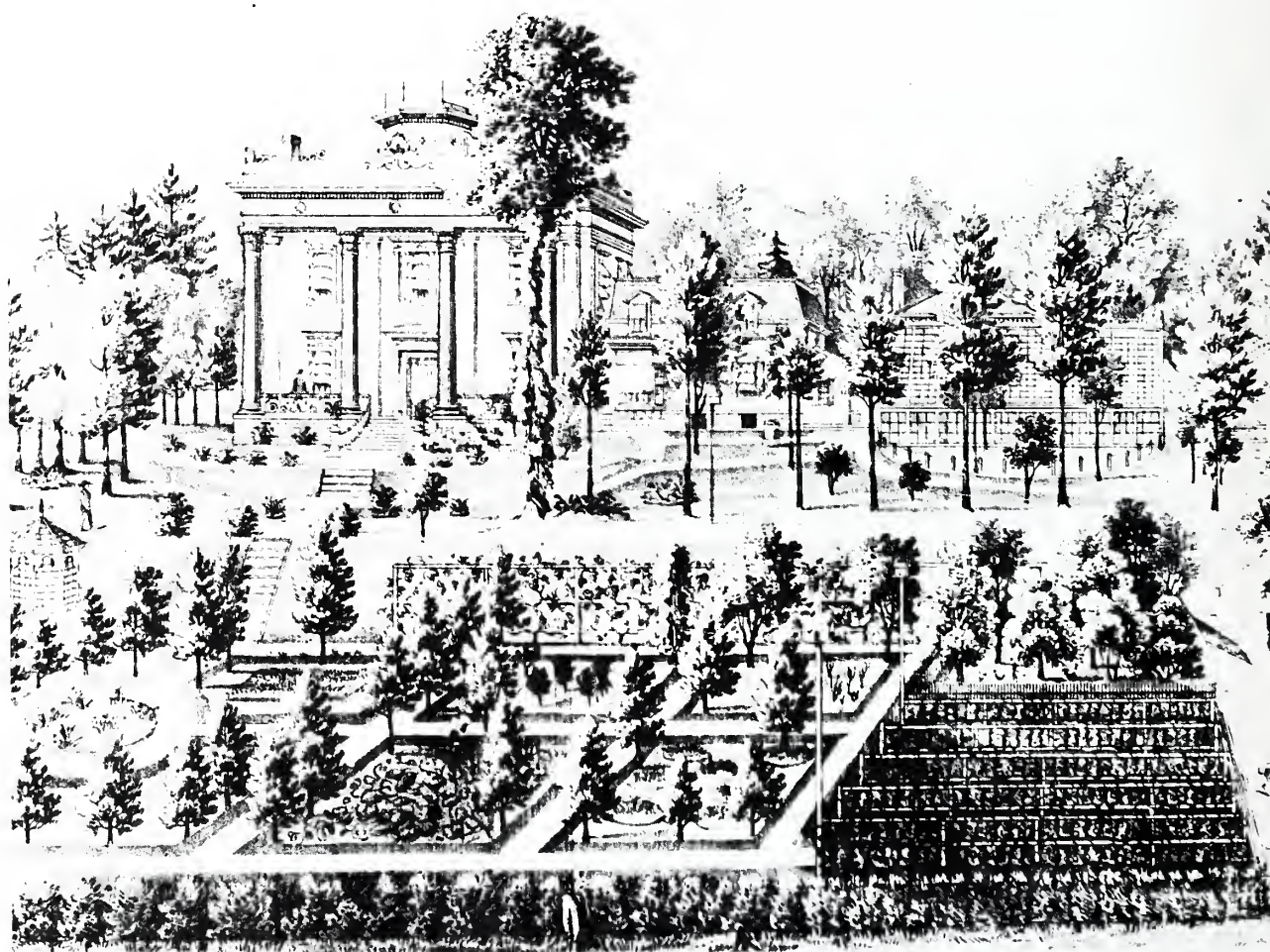
some silver and linens, and on they went, to the north this time, away from Jackson's route down the Natchez Trace toward New Orleans. They crossed the Ohio, gave up their last two slaves and settled for a while in Preble County, Ohio. The father did no better there, despite the friendship of the governor of the territory, William Henry Harrison. In declining health and spirits, he moved again, to the hamlet of Madison, Indiana, where after a last try to extricate himself from debt by becoming a dry-goods dealer, he died insolvent in 1820. His son resolved "never to allow my liabilities to exceed my means" and to wipe out the mark against the family's good name. Later he was able to tot up his father's debts and pay them all.

The magnificent white-columned house that he built, twenty years after that,

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Engraving of the Lanier House

Courtesy of the Indiana Department of Natural Resources



looked down High Street to the crumbling walls of the little building that had been the family's dry-goods store and home. Later still, after he had become the nation's most important financier of railroads, he remembered his grandfather and father, and paid his emotional debts to them as well. In his memoirs he told his children that his father had served in the War of 1812, commanding a stockade "situated on a narrow neck of land separating the waters flowing into Lake Erie from those flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, and named in honor of General Wayne and in commemoration of his celebrated northwestern campaign in which my grandfather served." Upon the site grew the city of Fort Wayne, a "center of a vast system of railroads," said Lanier (who had financed nearly all of them), and the center, too, of his successful speculations in land. "The very ground which my father and grandfather periled their lives to wrest from savage tribes, I have labored long and earnestly . . . to improve and enrich by the arts of peace, and thus to complete their work."*

George Washington had warned that the Spaniards, downstream on the Mississippi, would "hold out lures" to the people of the West; separated by range after range of mountains from the seaboard, the westerners might, he said, dissolve their ties with the eastern states at "the touch of a feather" unless held by stronger bonds than a few ribbons of road through the Appalachian passes. The real threat that the West might be detached from the Union, however, did not come from the Spaniards but from the South. As Lanier looked back on his life, he rejoiced that he had helped to knit the West and the North together "through the instrumentality of the railway." The Ohio Valley had been "brought within easy distance of Eastern markets," and also brought within reach of emigrants from the North, of Unionist sentiments.

The rush of that population into the region not only altered its political orientation but quickly increased land values.† J. F. D. Lanier, watchful and never over his head, built a few dollars earned as a storekeeper into a snug fortune earned as a lawyer, and that fortune into a fund to buy land, a stake in a bank, control of a bigger bank, through the banks a great deal of hog paper, more real estate and finally, railroad stock.

Lanier and the Railroads

ALONG THE WAY, James Lanier had learned the virtues of knowing more than his neighbors about a necessary but intricate craft. As clerk of the Indiana House of Representatives, he "became master of the rules and modes of conducting business." Not only was he useful to those who "found themselves in positions of embarrassment from want of familiarity" but he was also able to be useful to

* George Whistler, railroad engineer and father of the painter, was born at Fort Wayne in the year of James Lanier's birth.

† It is interesting to note the parallel between Henry Hitchcock's Alabama and James Lanier's Indi-

himself. He promoted the Indiana Turnpike and then the state's first railroad. His knowledge of the legislature and of the real-estate market permitted him (for the first but not the last time) to assure foreign investors of his "usefulness." The capital of his first bank "was almost wholly borrowed from abroad."

What distinguished Lanier, all his life, from most of his competitors was a prudent boldness. He had an eerie sense of balance, a capacity to walk to the edge of the possible and not an inch farther. He was ever mindful of his father's fall from grace. Though his bank participated hugely in the up-rush of speculative values, he never stretched too far. In what he called "the terrible catastrophe of 1837 . . . nearly every bank in the Western and South-western States failed, with the exception of that of Indiana." His bank, though it was slow in paying its interest, stayed solvent.

That happy outcome was by no means assured in the midst of the panic, when the people of Indiana chose James Lanier to persuade the Secretary of the Treasury of their solvency. Lanier filled his saddle bags with \$80,000 in gold—this man who had only recently been earning \$3.50 a day—and made the long and dangerous ride alone to Washington. The Secretary correctly inferred that any bank with that much specie available, and with that sort of manager, could be trusted with the government's deposits. The Secretary's decision in those dark days was "much to our convenience and advantage."

Lanier's personal credit was established. Thereafter he built it. He borrowed to buy hog paper—and borrowed to buy railroad paper. More important, he was learning how to persuade others to buy railroad paper. One could sell foreigners almost anything once, but to keep their confidence, ah! that was the thing. From his triangular transactions he had developed an eye for credits, "without the loss, I believe, of a single dollar in any transaction." In 1849 "the subject of railroad construction began to excite general attention." A year later the excitement was settling down, and Lanier "felt the time had at last come when railroads could be

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ana. Alabama functioned as a colony to produce a single crop, exposed to the whims of British (and later New York) commodity and financial markets. Indiana's bankers, led by Lanier, diversified their agricultural base, generated and reinvested capital and, with the instructive exception of the 1830's, kept their loans in balance with their internal capacity. Indiana, again led by Lanier, built railroads that tied the state into a transcontinental agricultural and industrial system, while Alabama's roads were a feeder system for cotton shipment, only slightly exploiting the vast forest, mineral and water-power potential of that state.

Here are the statistics showing the population of the two states in the first half of the nineteenth century (in thousands):

YEAR	ALABAMA	INDIANA
1800	1	6
1810	9	25
1820	128	147
1830	310	343
1840	591	686
1850	772	988
1860	964	1,350

safely undertaken as renumeration investments." Then he put something more important than an \$80,000 sack of gold in his saddlebags. He put there his reputation as the resuscitator first of the almost defunct bank and then of the almost defunct Madison and Indianapolis Railroad.

In New York he formed a partnership with Richard H. Winslow to sell railroad securities. According to the *American Railroad Journal*, "Mr. Lanier brought with him the first Western railroad bond ever offered" in the New York market.

At that moment Indiana had 139 of the West's 655 miles of railroad lines. New Orleans was still "the sole port of export." Winslow and Lanier had seen what the rivers could do, and now they set out to persuade the public what the rails could do. "In newspaper articles and pamphlets . . . in great numbers" and by personal persuasion, they built public confidence. "We were without competitors for a business we had created, and consequently made money very rapidly." They sold bonds and stock, and "coupled contracts for the purchase, at a large commission, of rails." They frequently undertook, for their own account (meaning with their own credit), an entire issue, and as often earned a second or third commission for paying out the interest due on the bonds. During the next six years, 10,724 miles of line were constructed, and, said Lanier with pardonable pride, "with all the important lines we were, in one way or another, connected."

A substantial amount of this business was done with foreign investors, with whom Lanier's Indiana performance had produced warm recollections, quite unlike their general experience with American "internal improvements." State banks were generally in default on the debts incurred to British investors. Sydney Smith of the *Edinburgh Review* said he never met an American at dinner "without feeling a disposition to seize and divide him—to allot his beaver to one sufferer and his coat to another—to appropriate his pocket handkerchief to an orphan and to comfort the widow with his silver watch . . . How such a man can set himself down at an English table without feeling that he owes two or three pounds to every man in the company, I am at a loss to conceive." The wrath of the Rothschilds was stated with greater gravity: "You may tell your government," James Rothschild, their Paris patriarch, had said to an American emissary, "that you have seen the man who is at the head of the finances of Europe, and he has told you that they cannot borrow a dollar, not a dollar!"

As early as 1847 James Lanier was in the offices of that formidable figure in Paris, as well as those of the London Rothschilds and their allies, the house of Hope & Co. in Amsterdam. Somehow he persuaded them to look more kindly on Indiana securities, and in the next five or six years Winslow and Lanier often negotiated "a million of bonds," meaning railroad bonds, in a day, often to people who had previously felt as did Smith and James Rothschild.

Though, like Nicholas Biddle, Winslow and Lanier were vastly outweighed by the great European financiers, the wealth they accumulated went to create an ever-enlarging pool of capital available in America for American projects; that pool was far more significant by the time they withdrew from railroad financing than it

had been while Biddle was trying to prop up the price of cotton. Their withdrawal occurred before the panic of 1857. Winslow's health began to fail in 1854. Lanier did not like the smell of the financial winds. He announced he did not wish to stay in the railroad-financing business without his partner, who, he said "had, above all men I ever knew, the faculty of inspiring others with the zeal and confidence which he himself felt." What a pair they must have been!

Lanier was inspiring enough on his own. In 1857 the second panic in twenty years forced "many of our most valuable enterprises into bankruptcy." Lanier did not walk away. To him "it devolved naturally upon parties who had been instrumental" in selling the securities of these enterprises "to find means to raise them from their depressed condition." Especially did he feel this responsibility toward the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago, "a company with which I had been early identified [serving cities with which his father and grandfather had been even earlier identified] and for whose good name . . . I was most solicitous." The story of the "raising" of that road is too complex to recount in detail here, but the other shareholders made it clear that it was largely due to "the good name and financial strength of Mr. Lanier, joined to his well-known prudence and caution" which "tended to inspire great confidence."

Over and over again, it was that capacity to "inspire . . . confidence," and his willingness to put his own credit on the line, which enabled Lanier to rescue enterprises to which he felt a commitment. He was not a chilly man; at the outset of his career he had been a good trial lawyer, but his passionate advocacy of each of his clients left him emotionally shattered. "Success or defeat . . . gave me more pleasure or pain" than it did his clients, he said. "I found the labor and anxiety of my profession too much for my strength, which led me to give it up" and retire to the world of financial abstraction. He had his commitments and he acted on them. He could not have sold bonds to others, in the early days of Winslow and Lanier, if he had not been willing to guarantee payment personally of the obligations in which he asked others to believe.

The time came when, despite the accumulation of private fortunes in the United States that could be invested in securities of railroads or of governments, the divided nation spent its capital in a civil war, and the government of the United States itself exhausted the still limited pool of domestic credit. It was the master of the reassuring manner and the reassuring performance, James Lanier, who then went to the Rothschilds and other European bankers on behalf of President Lincoln to persuade them of the likely survival of that government. But his most daring extension of credit was to his home state, in its worst extremity.

Lanier and Public Credit

JAMES LANIER WAS proud of having made it possible for the railroads to carry a great wave of people out of the northern states to overcome the southern predominance of the Ohio Valley. Still, in 1860, Indiana, cut off by the swamps of

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northwestern Ohio from the main emigrant routes, remained more deeply southern in its sympathies than either Illinois or Ohio. Lanier had supported the candidacy of Indiana-born Abraham Lincoln, but their home state was divided among the party of Lincoln, the Douglas Democrats and outright Secessionists like Charles Shrewsbury. By the second year of the Civil War, the balance had tipped heavily toward the South; the 1862 election returned a legislature "bitterly opposed to the War . . . determined to take the State out of the Union ranks."

The strength of Confederate sentiment was made even clearer in the summer of 1863, when southern forces under General John Hunt Morgan found the Ohio River steamboat operators had gathered an appropriate number of steamboats at Brandenburg, Kentucky, for his convenience. He transported his troops across the river to invade Indiana. They had a series of easy victories over the militia and found easy financial support: the millers of the old state capital, Corydon, oversubscribed Morgan's requisitions of cash. One of his men later described his two-week campaign through the state as an "enjoyable time."

It was not as enjoyable as it would have been had not Lincoln's governor of Indiana, Oliver P. Morton, put down a clever Secessionist conspiracy by the legislature between the 1862 elections and Morgan's Raid. Aside from the steamboat operators (Charles Shrewsbury among them?) and those compliant millers of Corydon, the state was not prepared to join the Confederacy when Morgan appeared.

The plot that Governor Morton defeated was to cut off funds with which he could pay the militia. After the 1862 elections, the governor and the Unionist members of the legislature, knowing they were in a minority, withdrew, leaving the legislature without a quorum, and essentially inoperative for the next two years. Then Lanier wrote Morton saying he would underwrite the war effort. He did so to the tune of \$400,000 of unsecured general credit "to equip and put promptly into the field" Indiana's first six infantry regiments.

The next step by the Secessionists was to try to break the credit of the Unionist administration, in part to assure their friends in Europe of the general insolvency of the Lincoln government. There were eager listeners in London. William Ewart Gladstone, whom the Prince Consort called "the real leader of the House of Commons," was readying himself for the prime ministry. Gladstone pronounced that "Jefferson Davis and the other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation." These sentiments came naturally to the son of that vehement anti-abolitionist John Gladstone, head of the West India Association and owner of 2,183 slaves. British bankers and manufacturers, said the *London Times*, were "partners with the Southern planter." Those bankers were quite ready to accommodate Mr. Davis' new "nation" if it could prove itself "a stronger credit" than Mr. Lincoln's embattled Union.

444 Once again Lanier was ready to put himself, his reputation and his personal credit behind the Morton and Lincoln Administrations. He offered to pay the

interest on the state's debt, personally. The state's fiscal agent, John C. Walker, a Confederate sympathizer, had possession of the creditors' list and denied it to the governor and Lanier, but they "procured" the list somehow, and Lanier thereafter made the payments, advancing \$640,000 of his own funds over the next two years.

The 1864 elections were fiercely contested; Lincoln and his Secretary of War saw to it that every Indiana soldier not immediately needed on the picket lines was sent home to vote, and all hospitalized Indiana soldiers were sent to be repaired—and to vote—in Indiana hospitals. Morton, Lanier and Lincoln won, barely.

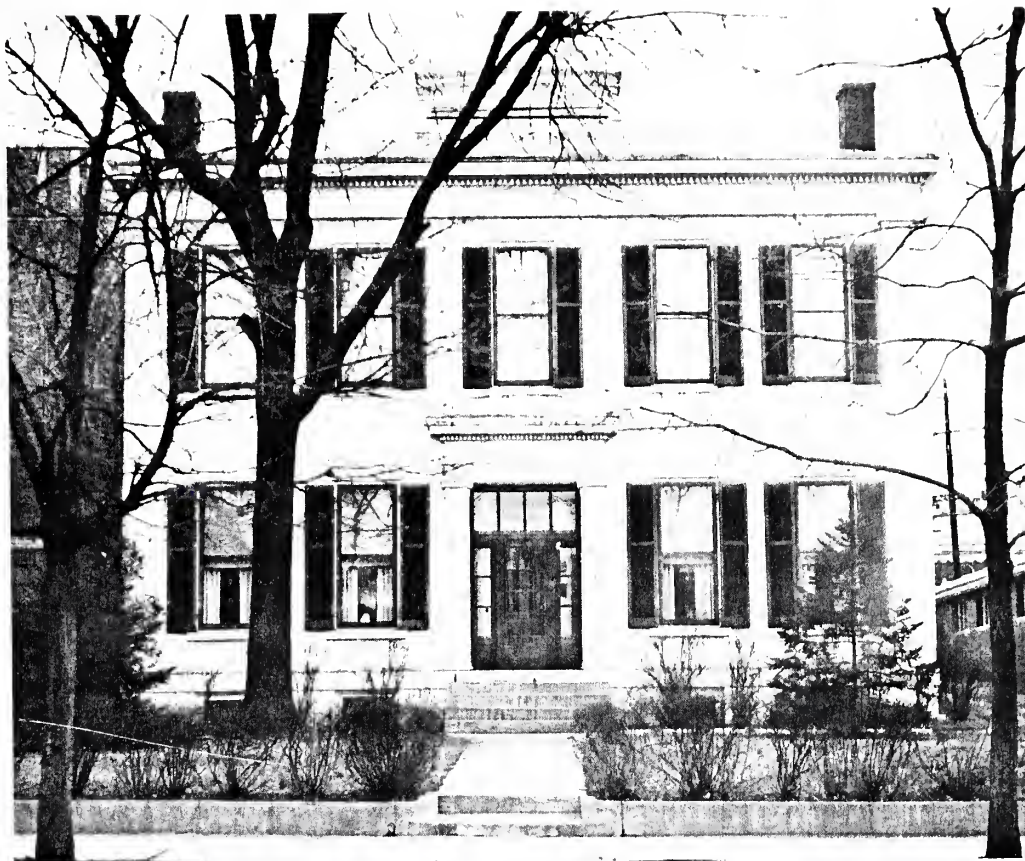
Oliver Morton went on to the United States Senate. Lanier was, apparently, content to go back to his business. He was, he said, "a business man from taste as well as from habit," but he made at least two trips to Europe "to reassure European capitalists as to the soundness of U.S. government bonds," once in 1865 and again in 1868.

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Francis Costigan

WHAT OF THE ARCHITECT of the Shrewsbury and Lanier houses? We are back now in the murk. American history has not been generous in supplying us with information about artists, unless, like George Whistler's son James, and Samuel Sloan, they took great pains to publicize themselves (see Chapter Twenty-five). Francis Costigan is a shadowy figure who has left us not a word of autobiography. We do have his signature, inscribed in silver on an insert in the newel post of James Lanier's house. This is not a book that sets out to present a catalogue of the works of any of the architects we discuss, but the temptation is strong to risk a little pedantry in order to do better by Francis Costigan, who has so far had to be content to have a productive lifetime compressed within the space of a few newspaper columns, one unpublished master's thesis and some painfully inaccurate paragraphs in magazines of local history.

Costigan was born in Washington, D.C., on March 4, 1810, and died of tuberculosis on April 18, 1865. He was reputed to have been apprenticed in Philadelphia, and in 1835 he was a carpenter and a builder with a store on Frederick Street in Baltimore. It seems likely that the Panic of 1837 drove him westward, for he purchased property and baptized his child in Madison in 1838. His first commission in Madison was probably started in that year, a cubical, wooden, vaguely Grecian house, which still exists on West Main Street. For this house, which has elements that recur in Costigan's later known work, and which was built while he was known to be in Madison, his client, Jacob Shuh, had also been trained as a carpenter. Shuh had built up a steam-operated wood-carding and linseed business, but was bankrupted when a flash flood piled up behind the abutments of James Lanier's new railroad (one man's fortune is another man's grief) and swept down and destroyed his mill, wiping him out. Shuh disappeared from history.



House designed by Costigan for Jacob Shuh, now the Whitsitt House
Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society

Costigan may have designed the Roman Catholic church where his eldest son and namesake was baptized. St. Michael's was built after his arrival in Madison, from stone taken from James Lanier's railway cut. The style is plain, but the shallow plastered vault of the ceiling of the sanctuary echoes, though faintly, the elegance of Latrobe's cathedral in Baltimore.

Costigan was certainly the architect of a double house on Vine Street, half of which was his own residence. It has two fine Classic Revival doorways and a double parlor that presage his experiments with making dramatic a basically simple space, which he carried to whimsical conclusions in the house he designed for himself a decade later.

Costigan had been working his way up through church records from plain "Francis Costigan" to "Mr. Francis Costigan" for two years by the time James Lanier was ready for an architect to build him a proper mansion. Costigan had demonstrated his skill; Lanier was no man to speculate on an unknown, even one from Baltimore. Shrewsbury had Lanier's example before him both as to style and

as to architect. Costigan, on the other hand, had in Shrewsbury a man of more brilliant hue than Lanier, and he gave him a more brilliant house. Costigan seems to have known the work of the Dakin brothers, or to have been proceeding on very sympathetic lines a decade or more after their work in Mobile and Louisville, for he drew on the closest grand structure in the Grecian mode, James Dakin's Bank of Louisville (built in 1834, Hellenic probably by subtle or not-so-subtle suggestion of Nicholas Biddle), for Shrewsbury's skyline. He also took themes from the Dakins' old partner, Minard Lafever, on which he wrote his own cadenzas. On the river side of Shrewsbury's house he provided columns at the doorway, of his own peculiar lotuslike order. He used them again in the wonderful little house he designed and built for himself in 1852.

There Costigan set out an exercise in deception for effect. The lotus columns

*Salt Pork,
Railroads
and War*



Francis Costigan's
own house in
Madison

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Doorway of Francis Costigan's house

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at the door were a hint that one has to look closely to catch him breaking all the rules, breaking them very subtly. He owned two adjacent lots on 408 West Third Street, but chose to use just one of them to work out some games with interior space in a house just over twenty-one feet wide. The entrance, set into an unprepossessing two-windows-up-and-door-and-window-below brick façade, is very subtly detailed in a free Grecian manner. He used again his "Costigan order," and the subtle elaboration of the entry, though very small in scale, suggests something of the drama inside. The front door is a curved pocket door, which admits the visitor into a tiny vestibule. The abrupt front stairway rises to a second-floor landing so small that it has a rotating gate which prevents the unwary from falling down the back stairs after achieving the front, and vice versa.

This dexterity is necessary because Costigan wanted to provide an awesome double parlor in a diminutive house, packing all the illusion he could into one room. The visitor enters the parlor at a diagonal, on the curve suggested by the front door, and the space opens out with a shock: it is thirty-four feet long, seventeen broad and has a fourteen-foot ceiling. That is about all there is in the house: one grand illusion, with a closet and a tiny kitchen downstairs and two



The Kentucky Blind Asylum in Louisville

Courtesy of the Photographic Archives, Ekstrom Library, University of Louisville

small bedrooms above. Costigan could do as much with his architectural credit as Lanier could with his financial credit; each had little to work with, and each kept his promises.

Local folk memory attributes to Costigan two other large houses, long ago demolished, in the same neighborhood as those of Shrewsbury and Lanier.* Some details might corroborate attributing to him the Grecian elements of the Marsh-Jackson house on Telegraph Hill, either before or after it was Gothicized. He was more certainly the designer and builder of the recently destroyed Madison Hotel, of ninety rooms, and a succession of very large, very handsome and very complex institutional buildings in Indiana and Kentucky.

Costigan's hand has been seen by some in the Madison Baptist Church, across Vine Street from his double house, in part because he used a similar order in the Indiana Blind Asylum, which he designed in 1851, in Indianapolis. The church was completed after Costigan had followed the railroad prosperity and the prospect of more institutional commissions from Madison to Indianapolis, where he

* *Known as the McKee and Godman houses.*

produced not only the Blind Asylum but also the Hospital for the Insane and the Deaf and Dumb Asylum. In 1855 he designed the Kentucky Blind Asylum in Louisville.

He must have been known as a competent and experienced designer of houses for the "new men" of the Ohio river ports. He certainly had succeeded in giving them solid, steady appearances—by "them" I refer to both the men and the houses—and this must have been quite satisfactory, in the light of the highly unsteady circumstances in which all such "new men" live. Now he was engaged to put a classical face on institutional buildings that at once organized philanthropy into efficient units and removed it from the notice of many citizens in whose households, or neighborhoods, the unfortunate had previously languished.

These very large hospitals and asylums were in many ways like the factories of the time—a very large subject and one heatedly debated by many historians. There are few things that are safe to say about it, but among those safe things may be that they were reflections of a general enthusiasm for reform in the care of the handicapped, physically or mentally, and for prison reform, and that a classical façade for such buildings (like a classical façade and a cubical—"solid"—form for domestic buildings in a frontier community) could be seen as an attempt at compensation. Classical asylums were wrapped in a consoling style, cut as propriety dictated, which may have offered some solace to the feelings of guilt and anxiety that people felt when "putting their relatives away."

But this is much too ambitious a subject for us to attempt to cover in a book which is mostly about the clients for domestic architecture. Here we must be content to note that Costigan's work, like John Notman's and John Haviland's (see Chapters Twenty-five and Thirty), is genuinely distinguished as architecture. (Even Sloan's admirers could not make much of a case for his as works of art.) They are immense in scale—the Kentucky Hospital is far larger, and better designed, than most of the state capitols of the time—and they display both engineering ingenuity and a kind of soberly playful use of classic devices on a grand scale.

In 1931 the *Indiana Construction Recorder's* "Wash Tub" columnist (anonymous, to our loss) noted that one Orval Williamson had made a folio of ten plates on Costigan's Blind Asylum. The folio, he said, was "beautifully rendered . . . full-flavored like eighteenth-century work." To achieve the exactitude he wanted in those renderings, Mr. Williamson "pulled out a plumb": measuring Costigan's work, he found the most careful use of entasis (subtle swellings of verticals to satisfy the distortions of visual perspective) which had gone unnoticed in measuring buildings in Greece itself until Sir John Pennethorne did so at almost exactly the same time Costigan was beginning his set of public buildings. It appeared, said the "Wash Tub," that Costigan knew not only his Stuart and Revett but also his Pennethorne, which the "Wash Tub," of course, knew as well. If that were not enough to establish the "Tub's" credentials, the writer went on report that

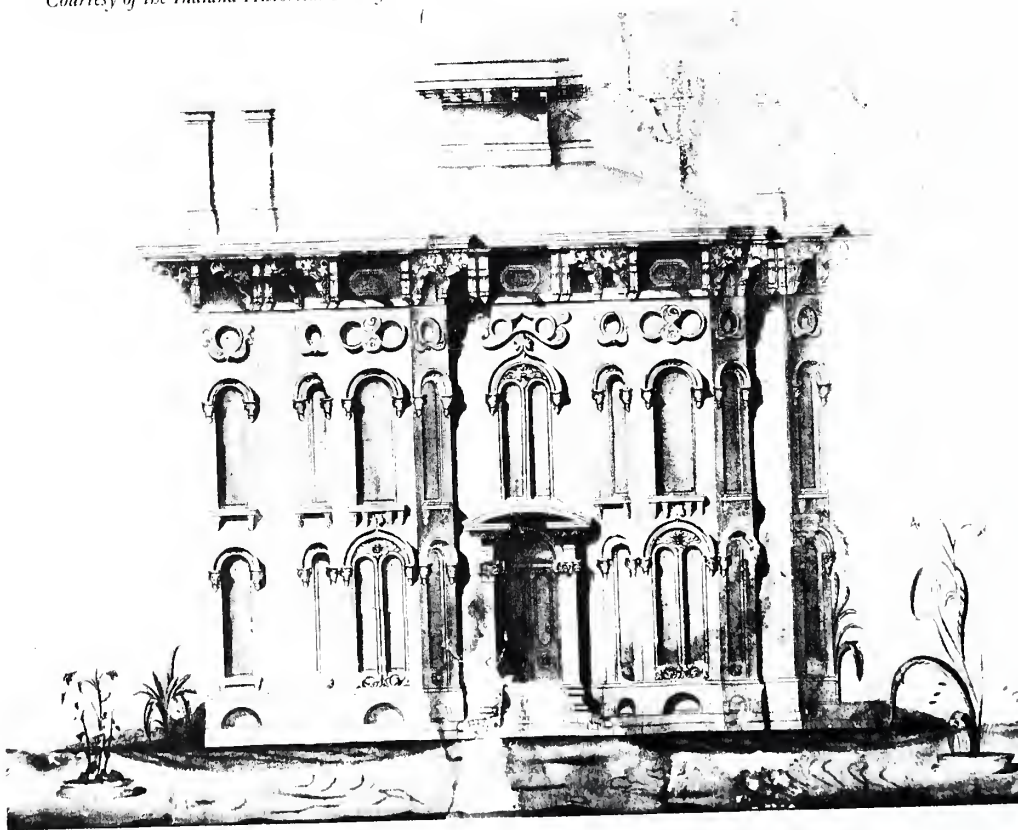
Costigan's Blind Institute was wrecked in 1931 to make way for the gardens of a plaza containing a modern version [the World War I Memorial Plaza] of a tomb erected in Halicarnassus to Mausolus, king of Caria, by his filthy-rich, disconsolate widow, Artemisia. When the tomb was gone, Artemisia jumped in the river.

It is a pity we have no more words on Costigan by this wholly sympathetic critic. For while he was at work on his public buildings, Costigan built a hotel in Indianapolis, called the Bates House, which gave him further opportunity to display his freedom from literal Classicism. It was a free Grecian structure, but had a strange set of Gothicoid little columns where an orthodox Greek Revival architect would have given us a replica of a Lysicrates lantern. Even odder was the Oriental House, which he built for himself, to make a new start as a hotelkeeper. (He quickly abandoned hotelkeeping and went back to architecture.) Its Italianate shape and wholly original ornament led the way to the most peculiar of his mid-century compositions, the Hasselman House in Indianapolis, for which his sole

*Salt Pork,
Railroads
and War*

Costigan's drawing for the Hasselman House in Indianapolis

Courtesy of the Indiana Historical Society



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known surviving drawing still exists in the Indiana Historical Society. For it he invented a strange flower motif with a much enlarged pistil, which, said the *Indianapolis News* without a smile in 1921, "does not represent any of the natural American flora," though one botanist "surmised" it might have to do with a passionflower.*

There were, it seems, other Indianapolis houses that, like the Hasselman House, have been lost to us, upon which Costigan might have lavished more botany, more passion and perhaps even some ornithology. The Oliver Tousey House at 709 N. Illinois was identified as housing the Gatling Gun Club in 1958. It, too, was designed by Costigan, according to one recollection, though not to others.

The Wallace Residence, on the corner of Fletcher Avenue and Irving Street, was "a sorry looking sight" in 1921, but in 1945 another writer remembered that it had ornament resembling the Hasselman botanical wonders. Costigan may have built for himself, and inhabited when he was not a hotelkeeper, a house described as the "Costigan-Abrams-Hendricks" house at Meridian and North Street. A Scots carpenter from Dumfries, James White, who later became mayor of Indianapolis, worked for Costigan in Madison and Indianapolis and said he had helped Costigan lay the joists for that house. The Groves House on the southwest corner of Meridian and North has also been attributed to Costigan, and it is possible that it could have justified another newspaper report, this time of 1929, that "there are old residences in Indianapolis where he has used conventionalized figures of birds of no known species." Or, as is the case with so much reporting on Costigan, is somebody confused, this time mixing birds with flowers?

We are unlikely to know, for though there are wispy reports of exquisite Costigan drawings, and the increasing appreciation for his work in Madison is drawing attention to it, there seems to be little more to be learned about his designs, most of which have been destroyed, or his character. We know that he died in 1865, and that he was buried in Greenlawn Cemetery. The loss of Indiana's most important architect in the nineteenth century went unreported in the local press because it was overshadowed by that of Abraham Lincoln.

* *The Hasselman House went down to make way for the Indianapolis Athletic Club. The enlarged pistil also appeared on the interior columns of the post office; Costigan was the contractor for that building, and redesigned parts of it; there is no evidence elsewhere that Ammi B. Young, its designer, was a lover of passionflowers, so this must have been Costigan's idea.*

- 402 Seargent S. Prentiss: Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 22.
 402 "disorganizing and revolutionary": *Ibid.*, p. 27.
 403 the Confederate flag never flew: *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 43.
 403 "this infernal Secession" and "someday . . . our last": *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 46; and Kane, *op. cit.*,
 pp. 190ff.
 405 "swan song": Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America*, p. 63.
 408 He left after overhearing: Elizabeth Biddle Yarnall, *Addison Hutton, Quaker Architect, 1834-1916*, p. 33.
 410 His wife estimated: Julia Nutt's 1883 deposition against the U.S. government is reprinted in full in McAdams, *op. cit.*
 410 boarded up: Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-91.
 414 "essentially an X": Samuel Sloan quoted in George L. Hersey, "Godey's Choice," p. 108.

PART V. *Pivot Point*

- 416 "praised and respected": Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

CHAPTER 27. *Hellenism in the North*

- 420 "What Athens was": Henry S. Commager, *The Empire of Reason*, p. 26.
 420 "Oration to the Society": Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, pp. 318-19; see also Alan Gowans, *Images of American Living: Four Centuries of Architecture and Furniture as Cultural Expression*, pp. 261-62.
 425 eclectic styles: Summerson, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

CHAPTER 28. *Solid Citizens in Indiana*

- 427 "waters of the Great Lakes": Carmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-20.
 427 "rolled back the mighty tide": Quoted in Harry J. Carman and Harold C. Syrett, *A History of the American People*, vol. 2, p. 142.
 428 Frederick Jackson Turner totted up: Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-76.
 429 "unconstitutional, an obstruction": Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, vol. 2, p. 39.
 429 "has its rights": *Ibid.*, p. 38.
 429 "a mighty shout": Marquis Childs, *Mighty Mississippi*, p. 96.
 431 "this locomotive age": Calvert Vaux, *Villas and Cottages*, p. 45.
 432 "The . . . mind is not complex": Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, as quoted in Raymond D. Gastil, *Cultural Regions of the United States*, p. 171.
 435 Shrewsbury grew old: As to Charles Shrewsbury himself, there is very little information outside of church records and local memories, upon which I have relied, but which cannot be rechecked by other scholars. For the Shrewsbury clan, and the Kanawha salt business, I am grateful for the assistance of Professor Emory Kemp of West Virginia University, and to the following sources: E. T. Crawford, Jr., "Salt—Pioneer Chemical Industry of the Kanawha Valley"; Marijda Waldron Mosby, "Salt Industry in the Kanawha Valley"; John Edmund Stealey, "The Salt Industry of the Great Kanawha Valley of Virginia: A Study in Antebellum Internal Commerce"; Ruth Woods Dayton, *Pioneers and Their Homes on Upper Kanawha*; William Sydney Laidley, *History of Charleston and Kanawha County*; Julius Allan De Gruyter,

The Kanawha Spectator; John Hardesty, *West Virginia Counties*; and Kanawha County court records.

- 435 John Woodburn: In 1982, while this chapter was being composed, a sheaf of typed notes was found in the Madison-Jefferson County Library, dated April 22, 1927, with the notation "Irvington," which was where one Shrewsbury daughter, Mary Shrewsbury Wyatt, and her daughter, Eleanor Wyatt Wood, were living on that date. They appear to be family reminiscences, and I have taken the material in this paragraph from those notes.

CHAPTER 29. *Salt Pork, Railroads and War*

- 436 Hogs prowled: Henry G. Waltman, *Livestock and Poultry in Frontier Indiana*.
 437 Bankers tended to be Whigs: Turner, op. cit., p. 303.
 437 "that begemmed the terrace": George S. Cottman, *The James F. D. Lanier Memorial Home: An Indiana Memorial*, pp. 16, 19, 20.
 437 he enjoyed describing it: James Lanier, *Memoirs*.
 438 "I was diligent": Ibid., pp. 6, 11.
 438 Jackson the speculator: Ibid., pp. 6, 7.
 439 his father's debts: Ibid., pp. 7, 8, 11.
 440 "situated on a narrow neck": Ibid., pp. 7-8.
 440 "hold out lures": Ibid., pp. 9-10.
 440 "through the instrumentality of the railway": Ibid., p. 8.
 440 "became master": Ibid., p. 12.
 441 "the terrible catastrophe": Ibid., pp. 13-14.
 441 "much to our convenience": Ibid., p. 16.
 441 "the subject of railroad construction": Ibid., pp. 17-18.
 442 "Mr. Lanier brought with him": *American Railroad Journal*, March 2, 1861.
 442 "In newspaper articles": Lanier, op. cit., pp. 17, 19, 20.
 442 "without feeling a disposition": Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, *A Social History of Industrialization*, pp. 48-49.
 442 "You may tell your government": Ibid.
 442 in Paris: Martha J. Coleman, "Milestones in Indiana."
 442 "a million of bonds": Lanier, op. cit., p. 19.
 443 "had, above all men": Ibid.
 443 "many of our most valuable": Ibid., pp. 24, 28.
 443 "Success or defeat": Ibid., p. 11.
 443 guarantee payment personally: *American Railroad Journal*, March 2, 1861.
 444 deeply southern . . . "bitterly opposed": Lanier, op. cit., pp. 32-33.
 444 "to equip and put promptly": Cottman, op. cit., p. 8.
 444 "the real leader": *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition (London: 1911), vol. 12, p. 69.
 444 "Jefferson Davis": Eric Williams, op. cit., pp. 176-77.
 444 John Gladstone: Ibid., pp. 89-90.
 444 "partners with the Southern": Ibid., pp. 176-77.
 444 offered to pay: Cottman, op. cit., pp. 16-20, and Lanier, op. cit., pp. 32-35. Cottman's account of these transactions is confirmed by Lanier, though he omits the first \$400,000. More details are given in O. P. Morton, "Message to the General Assembly of Indiana," January 6, 1865, which can be found in the Indiana Historical Society Archives.
 445 "a business man": Lanier, op. cit., p. 37; mention of his European expeditions may be found in the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1898), vol. 23, p. 199.

- 445 Francis Costigan: There is no published biography of Costigan. The newspaper accounts of his work are a litter of errors, but there is a good unpublished master's thesis, "Francis Costigan," by Todd R. Mozingo of the University of Virginia (1975), available from Historic Madison, Inc., which does very well in sorting out what was known by 1975.
- 445 Frederick Street in Baltimore: *Baltimore City Directory*.
- 445 purchased property: Jefferson County *Deed Book P*, p. 179, November 13, 1838.
- 445 baptized his child: St. Michael's Church baptismal records, Madison, 1838.
- 445 Jacob Shuh: U.S., Department of the Interior, "Shuh-Leininger-Holstein-Whitsitt House," pp. 3, 7, 12.
- 446 St. Michael's: "Trace Church Builder."
- 446 Vine Street: Jefferson County *Deed Book P*, p. 179, November 13, 1838.
- 446 "Mr. Francis Costigan": "Trace Church Builder."
- 447 James Dakin's Bank: Arthur Scully, Jr., *James Dakin, Architect: His Career in New York and the South*, pp. 26ff.
- 449 Local folk memory: Mozingo, op. cit., p. 41.
- 449 Madison Hotel: Cottman, op. cit., p. 14.
- 449 Costigan's hand: Mozingo, pp. 68ff., and Anton Scherrer, "Francis Costigan," pp. 30-33. Scherrer is accurate for these, which I have confirmed with contemporary and later newspaper accounts, but is otherwise as sprinkled with errors as is almost everything else written about Costigan. Elsewhere, Costigan has been credited with Ammi B. Young's Post Office in Indianapolis, later the Fletcher Bank, and with James Renwick's Odd Fellows Hall. The Odd Fellows *Annual Communication* of July 1853 takes care of the latter, and the National Archives, Records Group 121, Entry 26, Box 114, the former.
- 450 "beautifully rendered": "The Wash Tub."
- 451 "Costigan's Blind Institute": Ibid.
- 451 the Oriental House: The Oriental House was included in Costigan's will, so it seems that this attribution is correct, though it appears in a wildly inaccurate statement of his work in Berry R. Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County* (Philadelphia, 1884). We are told of the will in Lee Burns, *Early Architects and Builders of Indiana*, which is generally correct but misattributes Renwick's Odd Fellows Hall to Costigan.
- 452 "does not represent": Indianapolis *News*, April 9, 1921. Scherrer tells us that the "surmise" was by Dr. Alembert W. Brayton. Scherrer (op cit., note 5) says that "to my knowledge, nobody in Indianapolis ever had the temerity to question Dr. Brayton's opinions."
- 452 "a sorry looking": Indianapolis *News*, April 9, 1921.
- 452 botanical wonders: Anton Scherrer, article in Indianapolis *Times*, October 10, 1945.
- 452 A Scots carpenter: T. V. Krull, article in Indianapolis *Star*, vertical file of Historic Madison, Inc., date mutilated, but presumably of the 1930's.
- 452 "there are old residences": Claude J. Hammond, article in Shelbyville *Democrat*, November 4, 1929, quoted in *Indiana Biography* series, vol. 4, p. 1. Like articles about Lanier and Costigan in *Outdoor Indiana*, it is a nest of errors.
- 452 his work in Madison: Mozingo, op. cit., attributes to Costigan the Claypool House "to the south of the Hasselman residence," but gives no documentation, and the John A. Bridgeland House in Richmond, Indiana, citing the Richmond *Democrat* of October 20, 1964. But Costigan scholars have had bad luck with newspapers.

CHAPTER 30. *The American Picturesque*

- 457 "venerable family-mansion": Terence Davis, *The Gothick Taste*, p. 22.
- 458 "the Grecian or Roman": Scully, op. cit., p. 128.

